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**THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY
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THE
IOWA JOURNAL
OF
HISTORY AND POLITICS

BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH
EDITOR

VOLUME XXVIII
1930

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SOME BEGINNINGS IN IOWA

[Within the present decade will occur the centennial of many events in the early history of Iowa. This article is intended to deal with some of the more important of these incidents. The period covered in the survey begins with the discovery of the Iowa country and ends approximately with the organization of the Territory of Iowa in 1838. It is the purpose of the writer to present only the various claims as to first events in Iowa. Many of these are definite and uncontested; others are based on hearsay evidence.—THE EDITOR]

The land which now forms a part of Iowa was first viewed by the eyes of white men on June 17, 1673. Propelled by their five rugged voyageurs, Marquette and Joliet drifted out of the mouth of the Wisconsin River and into the broad expanse of the Mississippi at the point where the latter empties into the Mississippi, just below McGregor, Iowa. The exploits of Jean Nicollet in 1634 had doubtless inspired Marquette and Joliet to leave the mission at St. Ignace on the Straits of Mackinac and seek the true outlet of the Mississippi. This venture had met with the warm approval of Count Frontenac.¹

For eight days they drifted or paddled noiselessly down the mighty waterway, when suddenly, as they were gliding along close to the Iowa shore, the attention of one of the party was arrested by the sight of footprints in the yellow sand. The canoes were quickly beached and Marquette and Joliet set out alone to discover whither the footprints led. It was the 25th of June, 1673. Unfortunately, however, the exact spot of this incident is unknown. Some believe it occurred near the mouth of the Iowa River while others contend it was farther down near the mouth of the Des Moines River. In any event, after visiting an Indian vil-

¹ Weld's *Joliet and Marquette in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. I, pp. 3-16; Thwaites's *France in America* (*The American Nation Series*, Vol. VII), pp. 54-56.

lage, the intrepid Frenchmen continued their journey downstream past the Missouri and Ohio rivers as far as the mouth of the Arkansas River. There they stopped, thoroughly convinced that the great stream emptied into the Gulf of Mexico and not into the Pacific.

After their return to Lake Michigan by way of the Illinois and Chicago rivers, the two separated; Joliet set out for Quebec, while Marquette, ill and worn from the long voyage, rested for a short time with the Indians at Green Bay and died before he could reach the little mission at St. Ignace.

Curiously enough, neither Marquette nor Joliet thought of taking formal possession of the country they visited, and it was not until April 9, 1682, that La Salle formally annexed it in the name of Louis XIV, King of France. From that date until the ceremony on December 20, 1803, when the United States took possession, the title to Louisiana was a pawn whose ownership changed with the outcome of each continental struggle between the monarchs of Europe.²

France retained possession of the land from 1682 to 1762 when, at the conclusion of the Seven Years' War, she ceded Florida to England, and the island on which New Orleans stood and the territory west of the Mississippi River to Spain. It was not until 1769, however, that Spain secured actual possession of Louisiana, since her first governor, Don Antonio de Ulloa, was driven out by the irate inhabitants of New Orleans in 1768 after two years of tumultuous opposition. This mark of disrespect so angered Charles III of Spain that the following year he sent Don Alexander O'Reilly to take over the reigns of government. Spain retained Louisiana from July 24, 1769, until October 1, 1800, when Napoleon, during a brief lull in his continental strug-

² Parkman's *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, pp. 285-287; *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. V, p. 728.

gle, forced Spain to sign the treaty of San Ildefonso retroceding the Isle of Orleans and all territory west of the Mississippi to France.³

The ink on the treaty of San Ildefonso had hardly dried, however, when Napoleon's ephemeral dream of an empire in the West was rudely broken by the prospects of a fresh war with England. An immediate purchaser was needed to prevent England from seizing Louisiana, and Thomas Jefferson, alarmed at the possibility of a powerful French Empire to the rear and mumbling all the while about "marrying" the United States to the "British fleet and nation", acquired Louisiana in a treaty signed at Paris on April 30, 1803.⁴

On March 26, 1804, Congress provided for the government of the newly acquired territory between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains by dividing it into two separate jurisdictions — the Territory of Orleans and the District of Louisiana. The Iowa country formed a part of the District of Louisiana, which was placed under the jurisdiction of the Governor and Judges of the Territory of Indiana.⁵ A little later, in 1812, the Iowa country was included in the Territory of Missouri where it remained until Missouri was admitted into the Union as a State in 1821.⁶ For the next thirteen years, the Iowa country was a political orphan, without a government of any kind. The real political history of Iowa, in so far as it relates to the establishment of counties, districts, judges, and actual representation of white inhabitants in Congress begins with

³ Thwaites's *France in America* (*The American Nation Series*, Vol. VII), pp. 271-276; Gayarré's *History of Louisiana*, Vol. II, pp. 210-213, 284; *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. VII, p. 576.

⁴ Channing's *The Jeffersonian System* (*The American Nation Series*, Vol. XII), pp. 60-63; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. VIII, pp. 200-212.

⁵ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. II, pp. 283-289.

⁶ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. II, p. 743, Vol. III, p. 797.

its attachment to the Territory of Michigan on June 28, 1834.⁷ Before that its history was merely a series of changes in sovereign and subordinate jurisdictions. Indeed it must be remembered that for thirty-three years after it became a part of the United States, the land which is now included in the State of Iowa lacked even a name. It was not until 1836 that Albert M. Lea used the term "Iowa District" in his little book entitled *Notes on the Wisconsin Territory* and thus made Iowa at least a "geographical expression".

EXTINCTION OF THE INDIAN TITLE TO IOWA

Although the Louisiana Purchase extinguished all foreign claims to what is now Iowa, it left unchanged the title which the Indians held in the land. Between April 30, 1803, and the outbreak of the Black Hawk War several treaties were made relating to the Iowa country. As early as November 3, 1804, Governor William Henry Harrison of Indiana signed a treaty with the Sac and Fox Indians at St. Louis, the provisions of which were in large measure responsible for the Black Hawk War. Twelve years later, on May 13, 1816, the Sac Indians of Rock River concluded a treaty of peace and friendship with the United States through its commissioners, William Clark, Ninian Edwards, and Auguste Chouteau, in which they agreed to accept the provisions of the treaty of November 3, 1804.⁸

It was not until August 4, 1824, however, that the first treaty was signed which definitely set aside a portion of what is now Iowa as a reservation for the half-breeds of the Sac and Fox nations. This Half-breed Tract was formed by continuing the boundary line of northern Missouri eastward across the Des Moines River until it inter-

⁷ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IV, p. 701.

⁸ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. VII, pp. 84-87, 141, 142.

sected the Mississippi River. While the creation of this tract did not give the grantees a clear title to the land, it set aside approximately 119,000 acres in the jutting peninsula formed by the confluence of the Des Moines and Mississippi rivers, now a part of Lee County.⁹

On August 19, 1825, a treaty was signed at Prairie du Chien between the United States and the assembled representatives of Chippewa, Sac, Fox, Menominee, Winnebago, Ottawa, and Pottawattamie Indians. No cession of land was involved, the main purpose of the treaty being to allow the United States to draw a line which would limit the respective hunting grounds of two bitter foes, the Sioux on the north and the Sac and Fox on the south.

An agreement was finally reached and the United States government was commissioned to run the boundary line, commencing "at the mouth of the Upper Ioway River, on the west bank of the Mississippi, and ascending the said Ioway river, to its left fork; thence up that fork to its source; thence crossing the fork of Red Cedar River, in a direct line to the second or upper fork of the Desmoines river; and thence in a direct line to the lower fork of the Calumet river; and down that river to its juncture with the Missouri." Unless the Yankton Sioux concurred in that portion of the treaty dealing with the line to the fork of the Calumet this part of the treaty, however, was to be void.¹⁰

Five years later, a second meeting was called at Prairie du Chien, because it was plainly evident a thin line was an ineffective barrier against centuries of implacable hatred. On July 15, 1830, the second and third articles of the treaty between the United States and the confederated tribes of Sac and Fox, western Sioux, Omaha, Oto, and Missouri Indians created the "Neutral Strip", the Sac and Fox agree-

⁹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. VII, pp. 229-232.

¹⁰ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. VII, pp. 272-277.

ing to surrender a strip twenty miles wide on the south of the line established by the Treaty of 1825, while the Sioux ceded a similar amount to the north of it. Thus, there was created a neutral territory forty miles in width between the Mississippi River and the Des Moines River.

Article one provided for the cession of almost one-third of what now constitutes Iowa along the Missouri slope, it being understood that "the lands ceded and relinquished by this Treaty are to be assigned and allotted under the direction of the President of the United States, to the Tribes now living thereon, or to such other Tribes as the President may locate thereon for hunting, and other purposes." In both instances, however, the land was not thrown open to white settlement and the phrasing of article one actually prevented such action in the western strip.¹¹

Indeed any possibility which the second and third articles might have held out to future settlers was quickly extinguished by the treaty of September 15, 1832, when the Winnebago were granted the neutral strip in exchange for their lands in Wisconsin. This treaty was to take effect on June 1, 1833.¹²

In the meantime the Indian troubles that preceded the settlement of Iowa came to a head in the Black Hawk War. Although the battles were fought in Wisconsin and Illinois, this contest proved to be a decisive factor in the retreat of the red men from the lands across the Mississippi. The Sac and Fox had yielded their lands and cornfields in Illinois to the United States, removing to new villages to the westward, but in April, 1832, a large band, under the leadership of Black Hawk, returned to the valley of the Rock River, began to plant corn, and refused to obey orders to give up their old homes, and to surrender to Federal

¹¹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. VII, pp. 328-332.

¹² *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. VII, pp. 370-373.

justice several members of the band accused of murders the year before.

The last act in the tragedy was the attempt of Black Hawk and his surviving followers to recross the Mississippi at the mouth of the Bad Axe River on August 1, 1832. The steamboat *Warrior* fired on the Indian canoes during the crossing, disregarding an attempt made by Black Hawk to surrender, while the remnant left on the east side of the river was attacked by Brigadier General Henry Atkinson and General Henry Dodge with regulars and militia. The Indians, driven to the very water's edge, defended themselves bravely, but bullet and bayonet did their bloody work in a massacre where mercy was extended neither to age nor sex.¹³

Barely one hundred and fifty of the thousand Indians who crossed into Illinois in April were alive after the last bloody scene at the Bad Axe, and the despondent red men asked that a new treaty be made with them as quickly as possible. This was signed on September 21, 1832, with land-hungry settlers looking westward across the Mississippi at the rich lead mines at Dubuque and the choice farm lands along the western shore. Major General Winfield Scott and Governor John Reynolds of Illinois concluded a treaty with the confederated tribes of Sac and Fox Indians whereby the latter agreed to surrender a strip extending fifty miles westward from the Mississippi and stretching from the Half-breed Tract on the south to the southern boundary of the Neutral Ground.¹⁴

Indian land titles in Iowa were further complicated by a treaty signed on September 26, 1833, when the Ottawa, Pottawattamie, and Chippewa Indians were granted a district in the southwestern corner of Iowa in exchange for

¹³ Stevens's *The Black Hawk War*.

¹⁴ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. VII, pp. 374-376.

lands ceded by them along the western shore of Lake Michigan.¹⁵

A treaty signed on the right bank of the Mississippi opposite Rock Island on September 28, 1836, provided for the cession to the United States of the four hundred sections of land which had been set aside as a reward to Chief Keokuk and his tribe for refusing to join Black Hawk in his war against the whites.¹⁶ This was known as the Keokuk Reserve. It extended along both banks of the Iowa River to within a few miles of the Mississippi. Settlers were pushing westward so rapidly, however, that the acquisition of the Keokuk Reserve seems hardly to have been noticed.

Realizing that a larger tract of land would have to be acquired to absorb the heavy tide of immigration which was moving impatiently onward, the government called to Washington the principal chiefs and warriors of the Sac and Fox. A treaty was finally entered into on October 21, 1837, which is generally known as the Second Black Hawk Purchase.¹⁷ In return for certain grants of land, annuities, and other favors, the Sac and Fox agreed to cede 1,250,000 acres of land lying west of and adjoining the original Black Hawk Purchase of 1832.

Despite the addition of this Second Black Hawk Purchase the frontiersmen continued to clamor incessantly for more lands. Finally, after four years of delay, the government again summoned the Sac and Fox into a conclave to be held this time at the Agency, about six miles east of the present city of Ottumwa on the Des Moines River. Doubtless both

¹⁵ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. VII, pp. 431-441. Treaties relating to the cession of 1836 are to be found in Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 473, 479, 481, 495, 496, 497, 498, 500, 518, 557, and 565; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. VII, pp. 516, 524, 527, 540, 542, 543, 544, 547, 568, Vol. IX, pp. 853, 878.

¹⁶ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. VII, pp. 517-523.

¹⁷ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. VII, pp. 540-542.

parties to the treaties chose their best orators for this crucial occasion. The council lasted for days and many brilliant orations were delivered. Important as the acquisition was to the white settlers, it was doubly so to the once powerful Sac and Fox. To make the cession demanded would mean expulsion from Iowa. Finally, on October 11, 1842, the treaty was signed. By its terms the Indians agreed to give up almost one-third of the present area of Iowa and vacate the land as far west as the Red Rocks in Marion County by May 1, 1843. By 1845 they pledged to withdraw from the entire tract and move west of the Missouri to lands selected for them by the government as a permanent and perpetual residence.¹⁸

The seventh and last cession of land which finally extinguished all Indian titles in Iowa was the result of two famous treaties, both signed in Minnesota. By the picturesque treaty of Traverse des Sioux, concluded on July 23, 1851, the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands of Sioux Indians ceded all rights to lands claimed in northwestern and north central Iowa. The following month, on August 5, 1851, the Mdewakanton and Wahpekuta bands of Sioux concluded a similar treaty at Mendota.¹⁹ Both treaties relinquished the claims of each tribe to the same territory and their culmination forever sealed the grip of the whites to the whole of Iowa.

THE FIRST SETTLERS

The use of superlatives, even when attended by the most painstaking research, is usually fraught with dangers. It is necessary, therefore, to approach the question of first things in any field with extreme care. The question of who first settled Iowa is attended with extreme difficulty. Not

¹⁸ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. VII, pp. 596-600.

¹⁹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. X, pp. 949, 954.

only is the dearth of documentary evidence a serious handicap but the documents themselves often present such vague and conflicting evidence as to actually refute each other.

SETTLEMENT OF IOWA UNDER THE SPANISH LAND GRANTS

The settlement of Iowa may be divided into three fairly distinct periods. The first of these covers the time Iowa was under foreign domination and might be termed early settlement under the Spanish land grants.²⁰ The names of Julien Dubuque, Basil Giard, and Louis Honoré Tesson are the most prominent of those associated with this period. Each of these men received a grant of land from the Spanish Governor after having established a residence of several years on Iowa soil.

The settlement of Iowa by Julien Dubuque begins with the cession of a strip of land to Dubuque by the Fox Indians on September 22, 1788, several weeks before George Washington was elected president.²¹ On October 22, 1796, Dubuque petitioned Carondelet, the Spanish Governor of Louisiana, for permission to work the "Mines of Spain". Governor Carondelet granted Dubuque's plea on November

²⁰ Pelzer's *The Spanish Land Grants of Upper Louisiana* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XI, pp. 3-37.

²¹ For short accounts of the life of Dubuque see: Oldt's *History of Dubuque County, Iowa*, pp. 31-45; *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1880), pp. 332-335; *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. III, p. 678; Shiras's *The Mines of Spain* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, pp. 321-334; Ham's *The First White Man in Iowa* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. II, pp. 329-344; Ham's *Who Was Peosta?* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. II, pp. 470-472; Van der Zee's *Early History of Lead Mining in the Iowa Country* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XIII, pp. 3-52; Herrmann's *Julien Dubuque, His Life and Adventures* (Times-Journal Company, Dubuque, 1922). Keyes's *Spanish Mines: An Episode in Primitive American Lead Mining* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. X, pp. 539-546, gives an excellent survey up to and including the coming of Dubuque and his petition to Carondelet. Franquelin's map of 1688 showing Iowa for the first time is valuable. Chouteau v. Molony, 57 United States (16 Howard), pp. 203-242, gives a full and complete account of the claim of Dubuque and his heirs.

10, 1796, after making certain that the grant would in no way infringe on the rights of a merchant named Andrew Todd who held exclusive trading privileges with the Indians.²² Eight years later — October 20, 1804 — Dubuque sold 72,324 arpents of this land to Auguste Chouteau of St. Louis for \$10,848.60.²³ Dubuque resided at his "Spanish Mines" for twenty-two consecutive years, the longest permanent settlement in the period under survey. At Dubuque's death on March 24, 1810, his estate was administered in St. Louis County, Missouri. After the mining land was opened to settlement on June 1, 1833, the heirs of Chouteau carried on a losing fight to establish their claims based on the Spanish grant to Dubuque, but their right to it was finally denied by a decision of the United States Supreme Court, handed down in December, 1853.²⁴

Louis Honoré Tesson was granted a tract of land in what is now Lee County by acting Governor Zenon Trudeau of Upper Louisiana on March 30, 1799. Tesson took immediate possession of the tract and planted his famous apple orchard. Subsequent events indicate that times were hard, or Tesson most unfortunate, for on May 13, 1803, Joseph Robidoux obtained an execution on the property which was sold to him as creditor. Shortly afterwards, Robidoux died and his executor, Auguste Chouteau, sold the tract to Thomas F. Riddick. Although Tesson was neither the first to settle nor to receive a Spanish grant, much colorful history is woven about his tract. The Tesson tract, moreover, was accorded the distinction of being the oldest legal title to land in the State of Iowa when the United States Su-

²² *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. III, p. 678.

²³ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. II, p. 381; Oldt's *History of Dubuque County, Iowa*, p. 35.

²⁴ *Chouteau v. Molony*, 57 United States (16 Howard) 203-242; *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1880), pp. 332-334.

preme Court in 1852 confirmed the ownership of Riddick's heirs.²⁵

On October 15, 1800, Basil Giard petitioned Governor Charles Dehault Delassus of Upper Louisiana for 6808½ arpents of land situated directly opposite Prairie du Chien in what is now Clayton County.²⁶ Giard urged in his petition that he had occupied the tract of land for fifteen years, had constructed buildings thereon and improved the land at considerable expense, and was, moreover, an obedient and faithful subject to his Spanish Majesty. This humble petition was granted on November 20, 1800. Both the petition and grant, however, are dated subsequent to the signing of the Treaty of San Ildefonso, on October 1, 1800, which transferred all right to the land from Spain to France. If the petition is truthful and correct in every detail it gives Basil Giard the honor of having settled in Iowa in 1785. There is, however, no documentary evidence at hand to substantiate Giard's claim that he lived in Iowa as early as 1785.

Still further confusion is added to the question as to who was the earliest settler during the Spanish régime by the

²⁵ Wilson's *Tesson's Apple Orchard* in *The Palimpsest*, Vol. IV, pp. 121-131; Kilbourne's *Montrose Apple Trees* in the *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. II, pp. 370-372; Cruikshank's *Historic Sites to be Submerged* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. X, pp. 241-249; Van der Zee's *The Oldest Land Titles in the State of Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XIII, pp. 238-249; *The History of Lee County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), p. 164; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. VI, p. 661; Samuel Marsh, William E. Lee, and Edward C. Delaven, Plaintiffs in Error, v. Edward Brooks and Virginia C., His Wife, Charles P. Billou, and Frances E., His Wife, formerly Frances E. Reddick, Walter J. Reddick, and Dabney C. Reddick, 49 United States (8 Howard) 223; and 55 United States (14 Howard) 513.

²⁶ Harlan's *Claim of Basil Giard* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XVI, pp. 622-627; *History of Clayton County, Iowa* (Inter-State Publishing Co., Chicago, 1882), pp. 120, 121; *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. II, pp. 439, 440; Pelzer's *The Spanish Land Grants of Upper Louisiana* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XI, pp. 3-37.

evidence found in the *Memoirs* of Father Samuel Mazzuchelli in which he relates a conversation held in 1835 with an old French Canadian who had worked for Julien Dubuque for twenty years.²⁷ Mazzuchelli was told that one, John Long, had first worked the mines at Dubuque, and that Jean Marie Cardinal, a resident of Prairie du Chien, had followed Long and preceded Dubuque in his mining operations near Catfish Creek.

SETTLERS DURING THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD

The second period in the settlement of Iowa dates from the time when Congress provided the first government for the newly acquired territory until June 1, 1833, when the land was thrown open to settlers. The treaty of 1804 guaranteed the Indians protection from white intruders, but a new situation seems to have been inaugurated in 1824 when the Half-breed Tract created a neutral zone upon which the more venturesome white pioneers might settle without inviting military expulsion.

In 1820 Dr. Samuel C. Muir gave up his post at Fort Edwards in order that he might enjoy the company of his Indian wife, moved over to the foot of the Lower Rapids, and built himself a cabin. This was four years before the creation of the Half-breed Tract. When the movement to the lead mines began to gain impetus, a few years later, Muir moved to Galena to practice medicine, leasing his claim and cabin to Otis Reynolds and John Culver, two enterprising steamboat captains of St. Louis.

The growth of steamboating to the lead mines required the appointment of an agent at this point and in 1827 Reynolds and Culver appointed Moses Stillwell to fill this position. Stillwell [died 1834] arrived at the foot of the Lower

²⁷ Mazzuchelli's *Memoirs*, p. 163; Parish's *Father Mazzuchelli in The Palimpsest*, Vol. I, pp. 101-110.

Rapids in the spring of 1828, accompanied by his family and Valencourt Vanorsdoll. These two men might be termed the earliest permanent settlers in Iowa since they both remained at this point until after June 1, 1833. Their occupation of the Half-breed Tract was apparently legal, since Stillwell was the regularly appointed agent of Reynolds and Culver whose lease from Muir and his Indian wife was doubtless a perfectly valid conveyance. In 1829, Dr. Isaac Galland moved across the Mississippi River from Edgar County, Illinois, and established the town of Nashville at the head of the Lower Rapids. The following year — 1830 — Isaac R. Campbell moved over to Nashville from Commerce — later Nauvoo — Illinois. There was no military interference in the Half-breed Tract as there was in the remaining part of Iowa.²⁸

Meanwhile the rich mineral lands around Dubuque offered a temptation to the miners who pursued their task in Illinois and what is now Wisconsin. These men resented the restraining hand of the government and could see no justice in allowing a handful of Indians to dig out a niggardly amount of lead from the mines where they believed they could gain untold wealth in a few years. As early as 1829, James L. Langworthy had crossed the Mississippi River to Dubuque, made his way to the tattered Fox village at the mouth of Catfish Creek, and secured permission to travel through the interior for three weeks and explore the country. Langworthy returned to Galena when his period of grace had expired. The following February his brother,

²⁸ *History of Lee County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), pp. 166-167, 329; Van der Zee's *The Opening of the Des Moines Valley to Settlement* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XIV, pp. 479-486; Campbell's *Recollections of the Early Settlement of Lee Co.* in the *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. V, pp. 883-895. Kilbourne's *Strictures on Dr. I. Galland's Pamphlet, Entitled, "Villainy Exposed"* (Fort Madison, 1850) gives an account of his transactions in lands of the Sac and Fox Half-breed Reservation in Lee County by a bitter opponent.

Edward Langworthy, and three others crossed the Mississippi for the purpose of securing the privilege of prospecting and working in the mines. The Fox received their advances coldly and Langworthy and his companions were forced to return.²⁹

Fearful of a war with the Sioux, the Fox deserted their village in June, 1830, to the great joy of the hardy miners. Their departure was the signal for the invasion of the lead mines by some thirty miners of whom James and Lucius Langworthy were among the best known. Despite the fact that the Indians had deserted their village this intrusion was not legally sanctioned. When the steamboat *Planet*, Captain Butler commanding, arrived at Dubuque with three hundred Indians on board bound for the conference at Prairie du Chien, Colonel Willoughby Morgan read a proclamation of Brigadier General Henry Atkinson to the assembled miners warning them to remove within two weeks or penalties would be inflicted on them as trespassers on Indian soil. The miners immediately called a meeting to decide on future action, and when the troops arrived shortly afterward from Fort Crawford under command of Jefferson Davis, all but four of the miners had withdrawn. These were promptly arrested but were allowed to escape when the boat reached Galena.³⁰

Troops remained at the mines until the outbreak of the Black Hawk War in 1832. At the conclusion of this struggle many of the miners who had been driven out during the

²⁹ Langworthy's *Dubuque: Its History, Mines, Indian Legends, Etc.* (Dubuque, 1855), pp. 3-24; *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1880), pp. 335-342; Oldt's *History of Dubuque County, Iowa*, pp. 46-48. For a brief biography of James L. Langworthy see Oldt's *History of Dubuque County, Iowa*, pp. 513, 696.

³⁰ *Miner's Journal* (Galena, Illinois), July 3, 24, 31, 1830. The account varies from that given by Langworthy in his history of Dubuque and in the county histories. These give Zachary Taylor the credit for having read his own order of ejectment to the miners.

summer of 1830 crossed the river and resumed operations on their former claims, but the land was not open to settlement, and Zachary Taylor soon arrived with a sufficient military force to expel them. Langworthy and most of the miners removed to an island near the west bank of the river, where they built rude shacks and, surrounded by heaps of mineral, spent the remainder of the winter and the following spring, suffering many privations.³¹

In the meantime, the pioneers who attempted the settlement of other sections of the Iowa country were also summarily expelled. A week after the news of the signing of the Black Hawk Treaty, Simpson S. White, Amzi Doolittle, and Morton M. McCarver crossed the Mississippi River and laid out claims in what now constitutes the present river front of Burlington. Twelve or fifteen families joined them before winter set in and built cabins in the surrounding locality, but Jefferson Davis arrived in February, 1833, drove the settlers away, and burned their cabins. White returned in the middle of May and spent three weeks erecting a second log cabin. Morton McCarver did not return until June when he also erected a cabin. Thus it happened that Simpson S. White was probably the first white man to settle in Iowa under the Black Hawk Treaty, since he entered the territory as a trespasser two weeks before it was legally open to settlement and had his cabin well under way before other settlers began to arrive.³²

Peter Williams experienced the same misfortune at Fort Madison as did the pioneers at Dubuque and Burlington.

³¹ Langworthy's *Dubuque: Its History, Mines, Indian Legends, Etc.* (Dubuque, 1855), pp. 23-24; *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1880), pp. 344, 349; *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. III, pp. 512-519; Parish's *The Langworthys of Early Dubuque and Their Contributions to Local History* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 315-422.

³² *The History of Des Moines County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), pp. 468-472.

Williams crossed the river in the spring of 1832 and laid out a claim and built a cabin on ground which is now a part of the present city of Fort Madison. Shortly afterwards troops arrived from Rock Island, destroyed his cabin, and escorted the luckless pioneer across the river. Williams did not return until June of 1833.³³

Early in 1833 Benjamin W. Clark, who, a few years before, had established a settlement at Andalusia, Illinois, crossed over to what is now the present site of Buffalo, Iowa, planted a crop, and built a cabin, but did not move over until the following December. While Clark probably began the erection of his cabin earlier than Simpson S. White, his failure to remain doubtless takes away any right he might possess to share honors with White as the first settler under the Black Hawk Treaty.³⁴

The treaty which closed the Black Hawk War and effected the purchase of a strip of land fifty miles wide stretching westward from the Mississippi set the date for the extinction of the Indian title to this part of the Iowa country as June 1, 1833. Scores of settlers must have swarmed across the river on that day and it would be a fruitless task to attempt to discover who arrived first. The movement to the lead mines around Catfish Creek and northward to Peru was especially great, but favorable locations in what is now Des Moines, Scott, and Lee counties also received a generous sprinkling of newcomers. Before the close of the year upwards of five hundred settlers had arrived at the lead mines alone. Unfortunately, however, there were no turnstiles which recorded the daily number of arrivals nor were the pioneers required to sign their

³³ *The History of Lee County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), p. 592.

³⁴ *History of Scott County, Iowa* (Inter-State Publishing Co., Chicago, 1882), p. 260.

names to a register, official or otherwise, the moment they stepped on Iowa soil. It is thus impossible to credit any particular individual with the honor of being the first to arrive on June 1, 1833.

THE MINERS' COMPACT
THE FIRST WRITTEN CONSTITUTION IN IOWA

It has been said that if three Americans meet to talk over an item of business, the first thing they do is to organize. Nothing better illustrates this trait than the various land leagues, clubs, or claim associations which were formed in early pioneer communities. Of the many associations of one description or another that arose in Iowa no other is as old or was drawn up under such picturesque circumstances as that drafted by some thirty miners who entered Iowa in 1830 after the Fox Indians had deserted their village.

Finding themselves without a government and realizing that they must have some rules, the miners met around an old cottonwood tree on June 17, 1830. The meeting was organized in due form and the preliminary business disposed of, after which a committee on mining regulations was appointed. This consisted of J. L. Langworthy, H. F. Lander, James McPheeters, Samuel H. Scales, and E. M. Urn. The committee submitted the following report, written by James L. Langworthy on a half-sheet of coarse unruled paper on the log around which the miners had gathered.

We, a committee having been chosen to draft certain rules and regulations, by which we, as miners, will be governed, and, having duly considered the subject, do unanimously agree that we will be governed by the regulations on the east side of the Mississippi River, with the following exceptions, to wit:

ARTICLE 1. That each and every man shall hold 200 yards square of ground, working said ground one day in six.

ART. 2. We further agree that there shall be chosen, by a ma-

jority of the miners present, a person who shall hold this article and grant letters of arbitration on application having been made, and that said letters of arbitration shall be obligatory on the parties concerned so applying.

Dr. Francis Jarret was authorized to issue the papers of arbitration. The report was adopted and signed by all the miners present. The Miners' Compact is doubtless the first set of laws for the government of white men adopted on the soil of Iowa, and it occupies as important a position in early Iowa history as the Mayflower Compact does in the story of Massachusetts.³⁵

GROWTH OF GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS IN IOWA

The influx of settlers into the Black Hawk Purchase on June 1, 1833, presented the novel phenomena of a people scattered over an immense domain two hundred miles in length and fifty miles in breadth without any regular machinery of government. The lawless nature of many of the newcomers made it imperative, however, that some form of civil government be instituted. Some violence occurred and out of it grew a petition to Congress asking for the protection of the Federal government. Congress answered the petition by an act approved on June 28, 1834, whereby the area now included in the State of Iowa was "for purposes of temporary government, attached to, and made a part of, the Territory of Michigan."³⁶

At this time, however, the inhabitants of the Territory of Michigan were working for admission into the Union and an act of Congress of June 30, 1834, authorizing the holding

³⁵ Macy's *Institutional Beginnings in a Western State* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, pp. 321-350; *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1880), pp. 338-341; Parish's *The Langworthys of Early Dubuque and Their Contributions to Local History* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 315-319.

³⁶ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IV, p. 701.

of an extra session of the Legislative Council of Michigan at Detroit. This body met on July 14, 1834, to consider certain steps leading toward admission into the Union. Among other matters Governor Stevens T. Mason called attention to the needs of the people west of the Mississippi and urged the establishment of counties, townships, and courts.³⁷

When Michigan was admitted as a State, in 1836, an act of Congress, approved on April 20, 1836, immediately created the Territory of Wisconsin. The first meeting of the Territorial legislature was at Belmont. Pending the establishment of suitable buildings at Madison, it was agreed that the next session should be held at Burlington, and on November 6, 1837, the second session of the first Territorial legislature of Wisconsin assembled at Burlington. It was the first legislative body to meet in Iowa.³⁸

By 1838, the country on the west side of the river had grown so rapidly, a petition to Congress led to the creation of the Territory of Iowa, and on June 12, 1838, President Martin Van Buren signed the bill by which Iowa Territory came into existence on July 4, 1838.³⁹

COUNTIES AND TOWNSHIPS

In his message to the Legislative Council of the Territory of Michigan, Governor Stevens T. Mason wrote: "Spread over an extensive country, the immediate organization for them of one or two counties with one or more townships in each county, similar to the organization of other parts of the Territory is respectfully suggested and urged. A Cir-

³⁷ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IV, p. 724; Fuller's *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, Vol. I, p. 123.

³⁸ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, pp. 10-16; *Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin, 1836-1838*, pp. 13, 14, 49, 50; Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 174.

³⁹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, pp. 235-241.

cuit and County Courts will also be necessary, authorizing and making a special circuit for the Counties west of the Mississippi, in as much as it would be unreasonable to require the attendance of the inhabitants of that section at the Courts east of the river.”⁴⁰

The Legislative Council responded to the Governor’s recommendation with a measure entitled “An Act to lay off and organize Counties west of the Mississippi River.” This act, the first step in the formation of counties in Iowa, was approved on September 6, 1834, to take effect on the first of October of the same year. Two counties were created: Dubuque County was to embrace all that territory which is situated “north of a line to be drawn due west from the lower end of Rock Island to Missouri river”; Des Moines, the second county, was to constitute all land lying south of this line. Subsequent events prove that it was the intent of the legislature that the boundaries were limited to what constituted the Black Hawk Purchase. Des Moines County, as a matter of fact, was cut almost in two by the Keokuk Reserve, the title to which was not extinguished until September 28, 1836.⁴¹

The second step in the formation of Iowa counties was taken in the first session of the legislature of the Territory of Wisconsin which met at Belmont on October 25, 1836. It consisted of a law approved on December 7, 1836, entitled, “An Act dividing the county of Des Moines into several new counties.” It was to take effect immediately. By its terms the former county of Des Moines, together with the newly acquired Keokuk Reserve, was divided into seven new counties, one of which retained the name of Des Moines. The six new counties created by this act were Lee, Van

⁴⁰ Fuller’s *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, Vol. I, p. 123.

⁴¹ *Laws of Michigan and Wisconsin, 1834-1836*, pp. 278, 279; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. VII, pp. 517-523.

Buren, Henry, Louisa, Muscatine, and Cook. Due to the fact that the United States government survey of these lands had not been completed not one of these counties created had the same boundaries it has today. The act itself was tentative in character and according to the last section was to be in effect only "until the end of the next annual session of the legislative assembly, and no longer." On January 18, 1838, two days before the adjournment of this second legislative assembly, a new law was passed, which provided for the establishment "of the boundaries of the counties of Lee, Van Buren, Des Moines, Henry, Louisa, Muscatine and Slaughter."⁴²

About one month previous to the establishment of these boundaries — on December 21, 1837 — a law was passed entitled, "AN ACT to establish the boundary lines of the counties of Dubuque, Clayton, Jackson, Benton, Lynn, Jones, Clinton, Johnson, Scott, Delaware, Buchanan, Cedar, Fayette and Keokuk; and to provide for the location of the seats of justice in said counties, and for other purposes." Eight of these — Dubuque, Delaware, Linn, Jones, Jackson, Cedar, Clinton, and Scott — were laid out with their original boundaries as they exist today. Since none of the counties which were cut from the original Demoin County had their present day boundaries until the act of January 18, 1838, these eight counties can claim the honor of being the first to be established in their present day form.⁴³

Thus twenty-one counties had already been brought into existence in Iowa when an act of Congress, approved on

⁴² Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 174; *Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin, 1836-1838*, pp. 76-78, 381-384.

⁴³ *Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin, 1836-1838*, pp. 132-138; Garver's *History of the Establishment of Counties in Iowa* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. VI, pp. 386-389, 443. The various changes in county boundaries is carefully chronicled by Mr. Garver in a series of maps, pp. 441-456.

June 12, 1838, divided the original Territory of Wisconsin. Of this number, ten had received their present boundaries, the area and boundaries of seven were almost identical with those of today, while the remaining four embraced huge tracts of land, much of which still belonged to the Indians.⁴⁴

Township government was first inaugurated within the boundaries of the present State of Iowa on September 6, 1834, with the establishment of the townships of Julien in Dubuque County and of Flint Hill in Demoine County by an act of the legislature of the Territory of Michigan. The same act designated the location of the polls for the elections to be held on the first Monday of November. Both townships were coterminous with the counties. The first polls designated for holding elections in Dubuque County were at "Lorimier's store in the village of Dubuque, and at Gehon's store in the village of Peru, at the dwelling house now occupied by Hosea T. Camp, near the head of Cat Fish creek, and at Lore's dwellinghouse on the Mukkoketta." Since the act provided for the selection of the county seat in Demoine County by the judges of the county court, no specific polls could be designated in the law.⁴⁵

The first supervisors in Demoine County were Isaac Lefler, Francis Redding, and Ebenezer D. Ayers; while Francis Gehon, William Smith, and John Paul served as the first supervisors in Dubuque County. Warner Lewis

⁴⁴ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, pp. 235-241; Garver's *History of the Establishment of Counties in Iowa* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. VI, pp. 388, 391.

⁴⁵ Fuller's *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, Vol. I, p. 123; *Laws of Michigan and Wisconsin, 1834-1836*, pp. 278, 279; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, pp. 10-16; *Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin, 1836-1838*, pp. 5-12. For an account of the combinations of county and township governments during the Michigan and Wisconsin Territorial period see Aurner's *History of Township Government in Iowa*, pp. 17-23, and Pollock's *Historical Background of the County in Iowa* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 3-57.

served as the first clerk for Dubuque County while Benjamin Tucker acted in a similar rôle for Des Moines.⁴⁶

COURTS

Among the first men to cross the Mississippi River were many rough characters with scant respect for law where it did exist and none where there was no government machinery whatsoever. Such a one was Patrick O'Connor who moved from Galena to Dubuque in the fall of 1833, and formed a partnership with a young Irishman named George O'Keaf. Together they erected a cabin about two miles below Dubuque. The following spring, on May 19, 1834, O'Keaf returned to the cabin, accompanied by a friend, and found the door locked. Upon rapping for admittance they were told by O'Connor to wait. Rain began to fall and O'Keaf, impatient with the delay, applied his shoulder to the door and burst it in. O'Connor levelled a musket at him as he entered, fired, and killed him. He was promptly apprehended and taken to Dubuque.

The next day — May 20, 1834 — the first trial for murder in what is now the State of Iowa was held in the open air beneath the wide-spreading branches of a large elm tree. This was entirely outside the law. A Captain White was chosen to represent the mining community as prosecutor. O'Connor at first refused to name a counsel but after some delay he finally appointed David G. Bates of Galena to defend him.

Twenty-four men had been selected by the two counsels and from these the accused was requested to select twelve jurors. O'Connor chose Woodbury Massey, Hosea L. Camp, John McKensie, Milo H. Prentice, James Smith, Jesse M. Harrison, Thomas McCabe, Nicholas Carrol, John S. Smith, Antoine Loire, and two others whose names have

⁴⁶ Aurner's *History of Township Government in Iowa*, p. 19.

been lost. During the whole of the proceedings O'Connor maintained that the trial was illegal on the grounds that there were no laws in the territory and he could not therefore be tried, but the trial proceeded, and the case was quickly committed to the jury. That body, after deliberating an hour, returned with the following verdict and sentence, signed by all the jurors:

We the undersigned, residents of the Dubuque Lead Mines, being chosen by Patrick O'Conner, and empaneled as a Jury to try the matter wherein Patrick O'Conner is charged with the murder of George O'Keaf, do find that the said Patrick O'Conner is guilty of murder in the first degree, and ought to be, and is by us sentenced to be hung by the neck until he is dead; which sentence shall take effect on Tuesday the 20th day of June, 1834, at one o'clock P. M.

On the day appointed a body of 163 armed men escorted O'Connor to the scaffold. William Adams was employed as executioner, and at precisely one o'clock on June 20, 1834, Patrick O'Connor was competently, if not legally, hanged. It was a memorable date for it represented the first formal execution in what is now Iowa.⁴⁷

Eight days after the execution of Patrick O'Connor, Congress passed an act by which Iowa was attached to the Territory of Michigan. By the same act which created the first counties and townships the legislature of Michigan made provision for the establishment of courts and the appointment of judges. This act provided that all the laws then in force in Iowa County, Wisconsin, should be extended to Dubuque and Demoine counties. County courts were to be established in both counties. At Dubuque these

⁴⁷ Price's *The Trial and Execution of Patrick O'Conner at the Dubuque Mines in the Summer of 1834* in the *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. III, pp. 566-574; Price's *The Execution of O'Conner in The Palimpsest*, Vol. I, pp. 86-97, Black's *Lynching in Iowa* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. X, pp. 151-254.

courts were to be held annually on the first Monday in April and September while in Demoiné County the second Monday of the same months was specified. "The oath of office of the chief justices of the county courts of the said counties", continues the act, "may be administered by the person appointed clerk of the respective counties, and the said chief justices shall then proceed to administer the oath of office to the said clerk and associate justices of the county courts according to law."⁴⁸

Section six contained the following provision: "Process civil and criminal, issued from the circuit court of the United States for the county of Iowa, shall run into all parts of said counties of Dubuque and Demoiné, and shall be served by the sheriff, or other proper officer within either of said counties. Writs of error shall lie from the circuit court for the county of Iowa, to the county courts established by this act, in the same manner as they now issue from the supreme court to the several county and circuit courts of the territory." Although passed on September 6, 1834, the act was to go into effect the first day of October of that year.⁴⁹ During the Michigan period the whole Iowa country formed an area which was subject to the jurisdiction of the Territorial circuit court for Iowa County. During the Wisconsin period, Dubuque and Des Moines counties were constituted the second judicial district and Judge David Irvin was assigned to this district.⁵⁰

Following the creation of Dubuque and Demoiné counties in 1834, a court was established in each county. In April of 1835, the first court was held at Burlington in the log cabin

⁴⁸ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IV, p. 701; *Laws of the Territory of Michigan and Wisconsin, 1834-1836*, pp. 278, 279.

⁴⁹ *Laws of the Territory of Michigan and Wisconsin, 1834-1836*, p. 279.

⁵⁰ *Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin, 1836-1838*, p. 8; Clark's *Judicial Districting in Iowa* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. V, pp. 455, 456.

belonging to William Ross. William Morgan acted as presiding judge, while Henry Walker and Young L. Hughes were his associates. In 1836 Isaac Leffler succeeded Morgan as presiding judge.⁵¹

The first term of the district court for Dubuque County met at Dubuque on May 1, 1837. David Irvin acted as presiding judge and Warner Lewis as clerk. The impression of a quarter of a dollar was adopted as the seal of the court. One of the first acts of the court was to grant Henry F. Landers permission to maintain a ferry across the Mississippi at the mouth of Turkey River.⁵²

SURVEYS AND LAND SALES

The first surveys and plats of town sites, like so many other acts of the frontier, were made through the initiative of individuals and not by authority of the government. To protect their claims against "claim jumpers" the first settlers made surveys themselves or secured the services of someone in a neighboring community. Thus, in the fall of 1833, the first survey of the city limits of Dubuque was made by George W. Harrison, an engineer from Galena. Harrison ran the lines of his survey between what is now First and Seventh streets and between Bluff Street and the river.⁵³ During November and December of 1833, shortly after Harrison had completed his survey of Dubuque, Benjamin Tucker and William R. Ross surveyed the front line of two blocks at Burlington.⁵⁴ These surveys at Burling-

⁵¹ *The History of Lee County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), p. 384.

⁵² Oldt's *History of Dubuque County, Iowa*, p. 448; *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1880), p. 384.

⁵³ *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1880), p. 353.

⁵⁴ *The History of Des Moines County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), p. 473.

ton and Dubuque were made while Iowa was still an unorganized territory without a government of any kind. Unfortunately, however, no record remains of the first two plats in Iowa.

Various other towns were surveyed before the government authorized an official survey. Late in 1833, John H. Knapp and Nathaniel Knapp arrived at the present site of Fort Madison and in the fall of 1835 they staked out a town with the aid of a surveyor named Adolphus Allen.⁵⁵ The present site of Davenport was laid out during 1835 and 1836 on the reserve belonging to Antoine Le Claire.⁵⁶ Finally, on July 2, 1836, the President of the United States approved a bill which had been passed by Congress entitled "An act for laying off the towns of Fort Madison and Burlington, in the county of Des Moines, and the towns of Bellevue, Dubuque and Peru, in the county of Dubuque, Territory of Wisconsin, and for other purposes." The act read in part:

That the tracts of land in the Territory of Wisconsin including the towns of Fort Madison and Burlington, in the county of Des Moines; Bellevue, Du Buque and Peru, in the county of Du Buque; and Mineral Point, in the county of Iowa, shall, under the direction of the Surveyor General of the public lands, be laid off into town lots, streets, avenues, and the lots for public use called the public squares, and into out-lots, having regard to the lots and streets already surveyed, in such manner and of such dimensions as he may think proper for the public good and the equitable rights of the settlers and occupants of the said towns; *Provided*, The tracts of land so to be laid off into town-lots, &c. shall not exceed the quantity of one entire section, nor the town-lots one-half of an acre; nor shall the out-lots exceed the quantity of four acres each. When the survey of the lots shall be completed, a plat thereof shall be returned to the Secretary of the Treasury, and within six months

⁵⁵ *The History of Lee County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), pp. 592, 595.

⁵⁶ *History of Scott County, Iowa* (Inter-State Publishing Co., Chicago, 1882), pp. 718, 719.

thereafter the lots shall be offered to the highest bidder, at public sale, under the direction of the President of the United States, and at such other times as he shall think proper; *Provided*, That no town-lot shall be sold for a sum less than five dollars: *And provided further*, That a quantity of land of proper width, on the river banks, at the towns of Fort Madison, Belleview, Burlington, Du Buque, and Peru, and running with the said rivers the whole length of said towns, shall be reserved from sale (as shall also the public squares,) for public use, and remain for ever for public use, as public highways, and for other public uses.⁵⁷

Recognition was thus given the earliest surveys made and, to avoid confusion, government surveyors were instructed to take due care in observing the lines which had formerly been laid out. Davenport was laid out in thirty-six blocks and six half-blocks by United States Surveyor Gordon during the spring of 1836.⁵⁸ The whole town of Burlington was surveyed by Gilbert M. Harrison in 1837.⁵⁹ Le Claire was laid out in the spring and summer of 1837 by William R. Shoemaker and Henry S. Howell, United States surveyors.⁶⁰ The government survey of Iowa began in the autumn of 1836, when Scott County was surveyed by A. Bent and son from Michigan. Both were deputies from the Surveyor General's office at Cincinnati. The survey was completed in March of 1837.⁶¹

Branches of the United States Land Office were not established in Iowa until after the creation of Iowa Territory in 1838,⁶² but the first sale of public land took place in Iowa in

⁵⁷ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, pp. 70, 71.

⁵⁸ *History of Scott County, Iowa* (Inter-State Publishing Co., Chicago, 1882), p. 720.

⁵⁹ *The History of Des Moines County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), p. 477.

⁶⁰ *History of Scott County, Iowa* (Inter-State Publishing Co., Chicago, 1882), p. 1099.

⁶¹ *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. I, p. 8.

⁶² *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, pp. 243, 244.

June of 1837, in that cradle of first events in Iowa history, the Half-breed Tract.

It will be recalled that the Treaty of 1824 had set aside the triangular section of land in Lee County for the use of the half-breeds of the Sac and Fox Indians. They were not, however, granted a fee title in the land and were therefore unable to sell it. Finally, on June 30, 1834, the half-breeds were given a clear title to the land and the Wisconsin Territorial legislature appointed a commission to lay out town plats and survey the land. It was then to be brought into the market and sold.⁶³

Speculators were plentiful in the tract as soon as word had been passed around that the lands were to be offered for sale. Rival agents from New York and St. Louis fought each other bitterly and the ignorant owners were quickly shorn of their possessions — often for a jug of fire-water. Dr. Isaac Galland, who represented the New York Land Company and had settled in the tract as early as 1829, was one of the first to effect a purchase, securing Isaac R. Campbell's potato patch for his company. Here he laid out the town of Montrose in 1837. In the litigation which arose as a result of conflicting titles in the Half-breed Tract, Francis Scott Key, author of the "Star Spangled Banner", was one of those who represented the New York interests.⁶⁴

POST OFFICES

A cloud of confused documentary evidence hovers over the question of the establishment of the first post office in

⁶³ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IV, p. 740; *Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin, 1836-1838*, pp. 244-252.

⁶⁴ *The History of Lee County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), pp. 164-166. Kilbourne's *Strictures on Dr. I. Galland's Pamphlet, Entitled "Villainy Exposed,"* is a rare pamphlet in which much is told of the methods of furthering land sales by eastern companies.

Iowa. In answering the question one is confronted with the problem of defining the exact meaning of a post office. Substantial evidence indicates that the first official post office was not established in Iowa until April 19, 1836, but records of delivery of mail and use of buildings for post offices occurred as early as 1833. In the fall of that year, George Ord Karrick was delivering a weekly mail from Galena to Dubuque. Milo H. Prentice was the first postmaster and the mail was delivered from a candle box in the store kept by Mr. Pfozter.⁶⁵

At this early date, with the influx of settlers coming in chiefly from Galena and the surrounding lead region, it was natural the metropolis of the lead region should act as the center from which rural routes radiated outward into the outlying territory. It appears that the initiative of the pioneers supplemented the government in this matter as well as in courts and land titles, and it is sometimes difficult to say whether this was a private or government enterprise. The first delivery of mail within the original limits of Burlington in 1834 was through the private enterprise of William R. Ross who later became postmaster in 1835. In the spring of 1834 Ross had written Postmaster General William T. Barry asking for the establishment of a post office at Flint Hills. He was granted a route between "Flint Hills, Ill.," and Sho-ko-kon, seven miles from Burlington on the east side of the Mississippi. The mail was delivered on horseback and the compensation consisted of the proceeds of the office. At that time envelopes were a luxury, for the charge was twenty-five cents for each sheet of paper and an envelope was considered a separate sheet.

⁶⁵ Card index to post offices in Iowa, prepared by Newton D. Mereness; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. II, p. 394; *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1880), p. 353.

EARLY POST OFFICES ESTABLISHED IN IOWA ⁶⁶				
NAME OF POST OFFICE	COUNTY	DATE ESTABLISHED OR CHANGED	FIRST POSTMASTER	DATE DISCONTINUED
Gibson's Ferry changed to Augusta	Des Moines	April 19, 1836 Sept. 22, 1837	J. B. Brown	
Iowa changed to Montpelier	Muscatine	April 19, 1836 Jan. 4, 1839	Wm. Gordon	Feb. 11, 1846
Peru	Dubuque	Dec. 7, 1836	Michael W. Power	May 28, 1842
Wapello	Louisa	Aug. 15, 1837	C. A. Ballard	
Wyoming changed to Fairport	Muscatine	Feb. 13, 1838 Aug. 29, 1845	John Sherfey	
Davenport	Scott	Feb. 15, 1838	Duncan C. Eldridge	
Cedarville	Muscatine	March 24, 1838	John Conklin	Mar. 4, 1840
Clarks Ferry changed to Glendale changed to West Buffalo changed to Buffalo	Scott	April 12, 1838 June 26, 1839 Oct. 4, 1841 July 15, 1857	Mather N. Bosworth	
Burlington	Des Moines	May 21, 1838	Enos Lowe	
Geneva	Muscatine	July 5, 1838	Amos Walton	June 22, 1841
New London	Henry	July 5, 1838	John H. Kinkade	
Deventersville	Jackson	July 13, 1838	Wm. H. Vandeventer	July 18, 1840
Mount Pleasant	Henry	Aug. 23, 1838	Alvin Saunders	
West Point	Lee	Sept. 7, 1838	Orrin Dodd	
Benton's Port	Van Buren	Oct. 5, 1838	Seth Richards	
Fort Madison	Lee	Oct. 18, 1838	Johnston I. Phares	
Pleasant Valley	Scott	Oct. 27, 1838	Austin B. Lathrop	
Camanche	Clinton	Dec. 17, 1838	Simeon Gardner	
Salem	Henry	Dec. 22, 1838	Aaron Street, Jr.	
Rock Creek changed to Rochester	Cedar	Jan. 8, 1839 March 20, 1854	Elisha E. Edwards	June 15, 1903
Jefferson changed to Fairfield	Jefferson	March 2, 1839 May 25, 1839	Henry Pitzer	
Napoleon changed to Iowa City	Johnson	March 2, 1839 Nov. 14, 1839	John Gilbert	

⁶⁶ Data compiled by Newton D. Mereness from records at Washington, D. C.

Slaughter changed to Washington	Washington	March 2, 1839 Aug. 1, 1839	James Baker	
Trenton	Henry	March 14, 1839	John S. Green	April 30, 1915
Parkhurst changed to Berlin changed to Parkhurst changed to Le Claire	Scott	May 8, 1839 Dec. 23, 1839 Dec. 3, 1845 May 14, 1847	Thomas C. Eads Jacob Emeigh	
Millerville	Clayton	June 4, 1839	Joseph B. Quigley	
Rome	Henry	June 14, 1839	Joseph Jeffers	
Florence	Louisa	July 5, 1839	John Deihl	Feb. 11, 1846
Sanbornton changed to Hermitage	Clinton	July 17, 1839 Oct. 10, 1839	Joseph D. Denson	July 1, 1840
Montrose	Lee	July 27, 1839	David W. Kilbourne	
Dubuque	Dubuque	Aug. 7, 1839	John King	
West Liberty	Muscatine	Aug. 21, 1839	Wm. A. Clark	
Fredonia reestablished	Louisa	Sept. 11, 1839 Feb. 18, 1860	Truman G. Clark Jacob D. Van Dyke	May 10, 1842
Hickory Grove	Scott	Sept. 11, 1839	Vincent S. Carter	May 16, 1845
New Lexington changed to Bonaparte	Van Buren	Oct. 4, 1839 Jan. 19, 1842	John Cox	
Moscow	Muscatine	Oct. 9, 1839	Wm. I. Hughes	
Pottsville	Washington	Oct. 9, 1839	David Goble	Oct. 6, 1860
Grand View changed to Grandview	Louisa	Oct. 15, 1839 June 20, 1892	Gabriel Walling	
Toolsborough changed to Toolsboro	Louisa	Nov. 9, 1839 Aug. 27, 1892	Elisha Hook	Dec. 31, 1903
Bellevue	Jackson	Nov. 14, 1839	James K. Moss	
Prairie Laporte changed to Jacksonville changed to Garnaville	Clayton	Dec. 5, 1839 Dec. 12, 1843 May 27, 1846	James McClelland John Banfill	
Lyons	Clinton	Dec. 6, 1839	Chalkley A. Hoag	
Bloomington changed to Muscatine	Muscatine	Dec. 6, 1839 June 26, 1849	Levi Thornton	Dec. 16, 1843
Tete de Mort	Jackson	Dec. 6, 1839	Daniel Brown	March 24, 1852
Iowaville	Van Buren	Jan. 11, 1840	John D. Baker	

To avoid this extra charge, most persons folded the letter, sealed it, and then wrote the address on the outside.⁶⁷

Colonel George Davenport was the first postmaster in the vicinity of Davenport, being appointed to the office at Rock Island in 1824. Previous to this time the mails came at intervals which were regulated by the movement of troops and supplies up the Mississippi to Rock Island. This was sometimes but once a year. The nearest post office was 300 miles away at the little town of Atlas near the mouth of the Illinois River. During the next few years the post roads were gradually extended until Quincy became a duly constituted office. From here the mail service was performed by Rev. Peter Williams, a Methodist minister. "Meager as to education, but chuck full of zeal", declared a local writer of Williams, "he faithfully served Uncle Sam and his Divine Master at the same time, delivering his mail and his rousing old backwoods Methodist sermons at the same time. Despite the well-known text upon the subject, he did serve two masters, and did it well."⁶⁸ About 1830 the Quincy route was suspended and mail then came from Chicago and Galena by horseback to Rock Island. Davenport held office several years before he was duly sworn in by Judge David Irvin.

According to a local historian, Antoine Le Claire received a commission as first postmaster at Davenport on April 19, 1836. He received his mail from Stephenson (now Rock Island), Illinois, and brought the letters to Davenport in his coat-tails. Le Claire, it is said, received an actual income of seventy-five cents for his first quarter's work.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ *The History of Des Moines County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), pp. 527, 528.

⁶⁸ *History of Scott County, Iowa* (Inter-State Publishing Co., Chicago, 1882), p. 726.

⁶⁹ *History of Scott County, Iowa* (Inter-State Publishing Co., Chicago, 1882), p. 727.

It will be seen that this appointment does not agree with that of a compilation made by Dr. N. D. Mereness, who lists Duncan C. Eldridge as the first postmaster. Eldridge received this appointment largely through the influence of George W. Jones of Dubuque. In all probability Le Claire held a position somewhat akin to that of a rural carrier. This will seem to be much the same situation that existed in many of the towns along the Mississippi. Private individuals seem to have taken on the duties in a semi-official way. By horseback, by wagon, by steamboat, indeed often by foot, the mails arrived at their destination with a disconcerting and aggravating irregularity. Since mail could be sent collect and the recipient was not always in a position to pay for a letter, it often behooved the self-appointed postmaster to carry the letter about until such time as he was able to secure the postage due on it.⁷⁰

The little town of Augusta was the first post office in Iowa which still exists. It was officially created as Gibson's Ferry on April 19, 1836, but the name was changed on September 22, 1837. Wapello, established on August 15, 1837, is the oldest post office in Iowa that has not changed its name. A list of the post offices officially established in Iowa down to January, 1840, is given on pages 34 and 35.

EARLY HOMES IN IOWA

The designation of the first home built in Iowa is as difficult as naming the first settler. Many of these early habitations⁷¹ were only temporary in character, the settler usually planning on erecting a real cabin as soon as possible. Moreover some account must be taken of the first frame and

⁷⁰ *History of Scott County, Iowa* (Inter-State Publishing Co., Chicago, 1882), p. 727; *The Iowa News* (Dubuque), September 30, 1837. Compare the account given in this source with the compilation of Newton D. Mereness.

⁷¹ Sharp's *Early Cabins in Iowa* in *The Palimpsest*, Vol. II, p. 16, contains an excellent short description of pioneer cabins.

brick homes for these were certainly more permanent in character and were the object of comment by travelers.

The cabins of Julien Dubuque, Basil Giard, and Louis Honoré Tesson were erected during the Spanish land grant period. The log cabin which Dr. Samuel C. Muir erected in 1820 at Puck-e-she-tuck no doubt provided a welcome shelter for him and his Indian bride, although a good description of it is unavailable. This cabin must have had the elements of permanence for Isaac R. Campbell moved into it in March, 1831, after spending the first year in Iowa at Dr. Galland's settlement at Ah-wi-pe-tuck. Early in the spring of 1828 Moses Stillwell moved across the river with his family and occupied one of two cabins he had built during the previous winter. It is quite probable that Stillwell constructed creditable buildings since he was a carpenter by trade and a steamboat agent by appointment.⁷²

Following the death of Julien Dubuque in 1810 the Indians burned his cabin and would allow no one else to occupy his possessions. It is doubtful whether another white man slept in the vicinity of the Fox Indian village until 1830 when Edward Langworthy and a companion were permitted a night's shelter in a rude wigwam on Catfish Creek. Temporary shacks were erected by the miners during the summer of 1830 when the Fox Indians deserted their village, but a month later the troops arrived and destroyed all the shacks which they themselves did not occupy.⁷³

It would be impossible to select as the first house any of the rude huts erected on the island opposite Dubuque during that memorable winter of 1832-1833. Nor would it be

⁷² *The History of Lee County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), pp. 166, 167, 328-333.

⁷³ Langworthy's *Dubuque: Its History, Mines, Indian Legends, Etc.* (Dubuque, 1855), pp. 12-24; *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1880), pp. 335-342.

possible to credit as the first any one of the scores of homes erected during the fall of 1833. Only one pioneer house, known as the Newman cabin, remains as a memorial to frontier days at Dubuque's Mines. Such names as Hosea T. Camp, Thomas McCraney, and the Langworthy brothers, however, should be remembered as among the first to erect cabins in the lead mining region of Iowa.⁷⁴

The name of Simpson S. White is associated with the building of the first cabin in Burlington. Though confronted by the blackened ruins of his first home which had been destroyed by the troops early in February, White commenced the erection of a second cabin about the middle of May, 1833. It was, so far as known, the only cabin in the process of erection when the land was legally thrown open to settlement and was completed the first week in June.⁷⁵

The historic cabin of Antoine Le Claire is especially interesting to Iowans. One of the provisions of the treaty which closed the Black Hawk War set aside for Antoine Le Claire the section of land on which the treaty was signed, on the express condition that he build a home thereon. This he did, erecting a pretentious house of hewn logs one and one-half stories high with three gables. This preceded the beginnings of the city of Davenport.⁷⁶

It was the frame and brick buildings, however, that became the particular object of notice for travelers through the region. Indeed a community's growth and progress was often measured by the number of frame and brick houses it had erected or under construction. The memoirs

⁷⁴ *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1880), p. 344. A picture of the Newman home was printed in the photogravure section of *The Des Moines Register*, December 29, 1929.

⁷⁵ *The History of Des Moines County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), pp. 469, 470.

⁷⁶ Sharp's *Early Cabins in Iowa* in *The Palimpsest*, Vol. II, p. 28; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. VII, p. 375.

of early settlers carefully record the appearance of the first frame and brick dwellings as a new page in the history of the community. Early newspaper files also note the construction of such dwellings.

Francis Gehon probably occupied the first frame house in what is now Iowa. It was prepared at Galena during 1833, and set up at Dubuque after his arrival there. Edward and Lucius Langworthy probably built the first two-story frame house in the State on what is now the present corner of Central and Rhomberg avenues in Dubuque.⁷⁷

Arriving at Burlington in January, 1834, John B. Gray had finished a frame house and filled it with merchantable goods by the spring of that year. That same summer two frame houses were built by Lyman Chase for Amzi Doolittle and Simpson S. White.⁷⁸ Judge Jacob Cutler bought the first frame house in Fort Madison of John H. Knapp in 1835.⁷⁹ The first frame house in Davenport was erected in 1833 on the Watkin's place a little above East Davenport.⁸⁰ William Gordon landed at Muscatine on September 28, 1836, and began work on the first frame structure in that district. This building was designed as a hotel and stood for many years.⁸¹

Brick dwellings commenced to make their appearance shortly after the advent of frame houses. John Johnson built a two-story brick building in Dubuque in 1836. The first brick dwelling house was erected in 1837 by LeRoy

⁷⁷ *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1880), pp. 353, 382.

⁷⁸ *The History of Des Moines County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), pp. 473, 476.

⁷⁹ *The History of Lee County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), p. 595.

⁸⁰ *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. III, pp. 463, 464.

⁸¹ *The History of Muscatine County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), pp. 501, 502.

Jackson. In 1838 James and Edward Langworthy erected two brick dwellings in Dubuque.⁸² The first brick dwelling at Burlington was constructed by Judge David Rorer in July, 1836. Shortly afterwards Isaac Leffler built a one-story brick house.⁸³ It was not until the summer of 1837 that D. C. Eldridge built a brick house in Davenport,⁸⁴ and Muscatine could not boast of a brick building until 1839.⁸⁵ The first brick yard in what is now Iowa was begun at Davenport by Harvey Leonard in the spring of 1837.⁸⁶

WHITE WOMEN AND CHILDREN

The first white women in Iowa came with their husbands into the Half-breed Tract. Maria Stillwell, wife of Moses Stillwell, was probably the first white woman to make a permanent residence in Iowa. It will be remembered that Mrs. Stillwell and her husband came to what is now Keokuk in 1828. The following year, Dr. Isaac Galland brought his wife and family from Edgar County, Illinois, and settled at Nashville. In 1830 Isaac Campbell came with his wife, and by the close of that year several families were clustered about Nashville.⁸⁷ Two women lay claim to the honor of being the first to settle at Dubuque's Mines. In September of 1832, Hosea T. Camp moved with his family into a log hut on the island adjoining Dubuque. But it is said that

⁸² *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1880), pp. 382, 386.

⁸³ *The History of Des Moines County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), p. 476.

⁸⁴ *History of Scott County, Iowa* (Inter-State Publishing Co., Chicago, 1882), p. 793.

⁸⁵ *The History of Muscatine County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), p. 504.

⁸⁶ Barrows's *History of Scott County, Iowa*, in the *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. I, p. 60.

⁸⁷ *The History of Lee County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), pp. 328-334.

Mrs. Noble F. Dean was rowed over to Dubuque in the fall of 1832, and spent the night in a cabin there.⁸⁸

As the first white men and their families settled in the Half-breed Tract, so, too, the first white children were born in this historic triangular section. On November 22, 1829, the first white child — a girl — was born in Iowa to Moses and Maria Stillwell. She was named Margaret. On February 4, 1830, Dr. Isaac Galland announced, from the door of his little cabin at Ah-wi-pe-tuck to the handful of waiting neighbors, the birth of a daughter, Eleanor.⁸⁹ John H. Ludlow, the first white male child born in Iowa, was born at Muscatine, Iowa, on September 30, 1831. He was doubtless the first white child born outside the Half-breed Tract.⁹⁰ Mr. and Mrs. Thomas McCraney became the parents of a daughter, Susan Ann, born at Dubuque on January 10, 1833.⁹¹ Late in the same year Mr. and Mrs. Simpson S. White became the parents of the first white child born in Burlington and Des Moines County.⁹² These commonplace happenings were momentous events in the lives of the frontiersmen and each addition awakened the community's interest and pride. Even as late as 1836, the birth of a child at Heeb's Bottoms, near Dubuque, was the signal for two hundred miners to march in a body to the home and personally congratulate the mother and child.⁹³

⁸⁸ *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1880), p. 344.

⁸⁹ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. II, pp. 394, 642.

⁹⁰ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. II, p. 394.

⁹¹ *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1880), p. 350.

⁹² *The History of Des Moines County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), p. 474.

⁹³ *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1880), p. 373.

MARRIAGES

Since there were no county seats or justices of the peace in Iowa prior to the annexation of the Iowa country to the Territory of Michigan, most of the early marriages of Iowa residents were performed across the Mississippi in Illinois. The itinerant preachers who made transitory visits to Iowa could not perform the ceremony without the necessary legal authority. Sometimes the services were performed at the county seat where the license was procured, but as often it took place on the bank of the Mississippi opposite the Iowa shore.

The first marriage in the vicinity of Dubuque by residents of that settlement occurred at Jordan's Ferry, Illinois,⁹⁴ in 1833, when Emily Willoughby became the bride of William Dudley. The license was procured at Galena and the ceremony was performed by Justice Cormack of that city. On August 1, 1833, Jesse P. Farley and Mary P. Johnson were also married by Justice Cormack. It was not until June, 1834, that the first marriage was performed in Dubuque County, when Mary Arnold was united with James McCabe of Galena, at Nicholas Carroll's tavern, just southwest of Peru. Following the benediction the assembled guests danced till dawn to the music of Charles La Pointe's string band.⁹⁵

A similar situation existed at Burlington. In the fall of 1833 William R. Ross and Matilda Morgan became engaged. Mr. Ross then went to Monmouth, Illinois, where he secured a license and engaged Judge Allen to meet the young couple on the east bank of the river opposite Flint Hills to perform the ceremony. On the appointed day, December 3, 1833, Mr. Ross and Miss Morgan embarked on a cumbersome flatboat

⁹⁴ Later Dunleith but now known as East Dubuque.

⁹⁵ *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company Chicago, 1880), pp. 354, 359.

as a preliminary to their voyage on the sea of matrimony. Landing on the Illinois shore they "plighted their troth" before Judge Allen beneath a friendly sycamore tree.⁹⁶ In the years immediately following 1834, it was often more convenient to cross the river to secure a license for this purpose than to journey to a distant county seat, although marriages could be performed in Iowa. John P. Cooper and Jane Pace, two residents of Buffalo Township, were married in Illinois by Justice of the Peace Daniel Edgerton, because Burlington was too far distant.⁹⁷

Sometimes these pioneer marriages were not successful. On one occasion a young woman was influenced by her parents to marry a much older man. History does not narrate whether this was the first marriage of its kind in Iowa, but the incident did lead to the first elopement, which occurred at Dubuque in September, 1835. While her husband rested, lulled to sleep, it is said, by the bewitching strains of "Coming thro' the Rye", the young woman made ready for her departure with a younger man. A local bard has thus best expressed her feelings in a parody on the Scotch ballad:⁹⁸

Every lassie has her laddie;
Nane they say have I,
And yet there's one — (I hear his step,
I'm off, old chap — goodbye.

DEATHS

Birth, marriage, death — thus, fate has decreed the way of all flesh, and the frontier played no favorites in the game

⁹⁶ *The History of Des Moines County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), p. 473; Negus's *The Early History of Iowa in the Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. VII, p. 146.

⁹⁷ *History of Scott County, Iowa* (Inter-State Publishing Co., Chicago, 1882), p. 977.

⁹⁸ Price's *Dubuque in Early Times in the Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. III, pp. 538, 539.

of life. The first white man known to have died in the Iowa country was Sergeant Charles Floyd, a member of the Lewis and Clark expedition, who died near the present site of Sioux City on August 20, 1804. Sergeant Floyd's grave is undoubtedly the first white person's grave known in Iowa.⁹⁹ The date of Julien Dubuque's death was March 24, 1810. Asiatic cholera took terrific toll during the Black Hawk War, and later the mining center at Dubuque's Mines had heavy losses. The first in Dubuque County to die of this disease was a man by the name of Fox, who was buried on what is now South Avenue. This was also, without doubt, the first death to take place in what is now Iowa after the land was open to settlement on June 1, 1833. The next was James Frith, a swarthy blacksmith who had his shop on Fourteenth and Bluff streets. A few days later a Mrs. Cullom and her infant were taken by the scourge, and before winter set in fully fifty had died.¹⁰⁰

Since none of the other communities along the Mississippi grew with the rapidity of Dubuque their losses were not so great. At Burlington, the aged father of William R. Ross, one of the first settlers at Lexington, Kentucky, and a veteran of the Revolutionary War, died in his son's home from chills and fever. This was the first death of a white person in Des Moines County.¹⁰¹

SCHOOLS

“Religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.”

⁹⁹ Thwaites's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. I, pp. 114, 115.

¹⁰⁰ *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1880), pp. 334, 351.

¹⁰¹ *The History of Des Moines County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), p. 475.

This splendid statement in the Ordinance of 1787 may be termed the criterion which future legislators of Iowa embodied in laws relating to education in Iowa, although it referred particularly to the government of the Old Northwest Territory.¹⁰²

In his message to the legislature of the Territory of Michigan, Governor Stevens T. Mason explained the need for township organization similar to that of Michigan to facilitate the establishment of schools. The same policy was pursued by the original Territory of Wisconsin, when, by an act of 1836, it provided that each of the new counties was to constitute a township. Governor Robert Lucas saw the need for the organization of townships when he declared before the Territorial legislature of Iowa at Burlington, on November 12, 1838, that "without proper township regulation it will be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, to establish a regular school system."¹⁰³

It was not, however, the act of a Territorial legislature which provided Iowa with its first school. By the treaty of November 3, 1804, provision was made for the establishment of the first agricultural school in Iowa. True, this school was to be among the Sac and Fox Indians but it represents a link in the chain of events which makes up the history of education in Iowa. William Ewing was appointed as the first teacher among the Indians.¹⁰⁴ It was not until 1830 that the need for a school among the whites became pressing. Then, as in so many other early events in

¹⁰² Shambaugh's *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 53.

¹⁰³ Fuller's *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, Vol. I, p. 123; *Laws of the Territory of Wisconsin, 1836-1838*, p. 64; *Journal of the House of Representatives, 1838-1839*, pp. 5, 6; Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 77.

¹⁰⁴ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. VII, pp. 84-87; Salter's *The Eastern Border of Iowa in 1805-6* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. X, p. 109.

Iowa history, we must turn to the Half-breed Tract for the actual beginnings of education in Iowa.

Almost three years before the Black Hawk Purchase officially opened the Iowa country to settlement the first school was established at Ah-wi-pe-tuck, in the Half-breed Tract. Settlers had followed Dr. Isaac Galland to his settlement at Nashville and by 1830 a typical pioneer community had sprung up, with such prominent families as those of Isaac R. Campbell, James and Samuel Brierly, W. P. Smith, and Abel Galland as the nucleus. These people realized the educational needs of their children and, as in most activities on the Iowa frontier, private initiative took the place of governmental activity.

The first school teacher in Iowa was Berryman Jennings. Born in Kentucky on June 16, 1807, he established himself at Commerce, Illinois, when he was only twenty years old. Three years later Dr. Isaac Galland invited him over to his new settlement to teach a school for three months. Jennings received lodging, fuel, furniture, and board at the Galland home as compensation, as well as the privilege of using the doctor's medical books. The school was opened early in October, 1830. Two months later, in December, 1830, I. K. Robinson began to teach the second school in Iowa at Keokuk.¹⁰⁵

According to Jennings the first schoolhouse in Iowa, like all other buildings in that new country, was a log cabin "built of round logs, or poles, notched close and mudded for comfort, logs cut out for doors and windows, and also for fire-places. The jamb back of the fire-places was of packed dry dirt, the chimney topped out with sticks and mud. This cabin like all others of that day was covered with clap-boards. This was to economize time and nails, which were

¹⁰⁵ Grahame's *The First Iowa School in The Palimpsest*, Vol. V, pp. 401-407.

scarce and far between. There were no stoves in those days, and the fire-place was used for cooking as well as for comfort."¹⁰⁶

The cabin was situated in a clearing on the banks of the Mississippi River at the head of the Des Moines Rapids. A small creek found its way through the line of timber clad hills which closely hemmed in the little settlement and helped to fence the schoolyard.

Simplicity marked the equipment of Iowa's pioneer school. The furniture consisted of benches made of long pieces of puncheon, with sticks inserted into slanting auger holes for legs. [There were few books, while globes and maps were unheard of. Crude make-shift desks "fastened against the wall under the windows" afforded those "interested in learning the art of writing" an opportunity to stand up and practice. Reading, writing, and arithmetic probably constituted the curriculum. There were no educational "fads" in those days.]

Prior to June 1, 1833, no schools were taught outside the Half-breed Tract. After that date, however, the influx of settlers was so great that the demand for schools and teachers became greater with each succeeding year. Over forty schools had been established in Iowa by the time the Territory was created in 1838.¹⁰⁷

The erection of the first schoolhouse in Dubuque was begun in November, 1833, and completed in December of the same year. The first teacher was George Cubbage, a resident of Wisconsin. On one occasion during the Black Hawk War, Cubbage and Henry Gratiot were captured by the Indians. Both men were bald, and it is said that the Indians

¹⁰⁶ Parvin's *The Early Schools and Teachers of Iowa* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, p. 448.

¹⁰⁷ Parvin's *Early Schools in Iowa* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Second Series), Vol. III, pp. 3-16.

were so disgusted with their prisoners that they sold them to a trader for a plug of tobacco apiece.¹⁰⁸ Thus, it would seem that the "noble redman" placed even less value on a pedagogue than many of the pioneer communities. At this time Barrett Whittemore also taught school during the week in the first Methodist church in Dubuque. In 1836, Mrs. Louisa King opened a school for young ladies in Dubuque which lasted until 1839. Her daughter, Louisa F. King, assisted her as a member of the teaching staff. In 1839, Miss King became instructor in modern languages in the first classical school in Iowa, Thomas H. Benton, Jr., being in charge.¹⁰⁹

CHURCHES

The erection of the first church in Iowa is authenticated by concrete documentary evidence. Prior to its erection, small groups of people had gathered in private dwellings to listen to the exhortations of traveling preachers or priests of various denominations. The Reverend Aratus Kent preached the first sermon ever delivered in Dubuque on the second Sunday in August, 1833. The services took place in an unfurnished log cabin put up by Ezekiel Lockwood on Locust Street, and was doubtless the first of its kind in Iowa. The first Roman Catholic service was held at Dubuque in the cabin of a Mrs. Brophy during the summer of 1833 by Father Quickenbaum of the Jesuit College at St. Louis. On April 24, 1834, John Johnson presided over the first prayer meeting in the county. A week later Reverend Aratus Kent preached in a log cabin erected by Noble F. Dean and occupied by Warner Lewis and family. The first

¹⁰⁸ *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1880), p. 353.

¹⁰⁹ *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VI, p. 442; *Annals of Iowa* (Second Series), Vol. III, pp. 8-10.

Methodist Society in Dubuque was organized on May 18, 1834, by Reverend Barton Randle.¹¹⁰

By this time Reverend Randle had become tired of preaching "anywhere" and decided to erect a meeting house of his own. The original subscription paper for this humble structure reads as follows:

Subscription for a Chapel for the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the Town of Dubuque.

Plan of the house.—To be built of hewn logs; 20 by 26 feet in the clear; one story, 10 feet high; lower & upper floors; shingled roof; pointed with lime & sand; one batten door; four 20 light & one 12 light windows—cost estimated for completing in good plain style \$255.00. The above house is built for the use of the Methodist Episcopal Church—but when not occupied by said Church, shall be open for Divine service by other Christian Denominations; and may be used for a common school, at the discretion of the Trustees. Woodbury Massey, John Johnson, Wm. Hillery, Marcus Atchison, and Orin Smith are the board of trustees, who are authorized to receive subscriptions and control the interests of said house, for the uses above mentioned.¹¹¹

Seventy donors contributed to this historic edifice, their subscriptions ranging from \$25 by Woodbury Massey to 12½ cents by Caroline Brady. A study of the names reveals the cosmopolitan character of Dubuque's population. Dutch, French, Irish, German, Americans,—even negroes who were or had been slaves—contributed their "mite" to the beginnings of a spiritual life in the little frontier community. Among the donors on the subscription list are those of Woodbury Massey, Warner Lewis, Ezekiel Lock-

¹¹⁰ *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1880), pp. 354-356; Oldt's *History of Dubuque County, Iowa*, p. 871; Gallaher's *The First Church in Iowa in The Palimpsest*, Vol. VII, pp. 1-10; Parvin's *Early Schools in Iowa in the Annals of Iowa* (Second Series), Vol. III, pp. 8, 9.

¹¹¹ The original of this subscription list is preserved in the library of the State Historical Society of Iowa at Iowa City.

wood, L. H. Langworthy, Milo H. Prentice, and Eliphalet Price, men who later became leaders in the community.

Five men and seven women made up the membership of this, the first church in Iowa. They were John Johnson, Susan Johnson, Woodbury Massey, Susan Massey, Robert Bell, William Hillery, Susan A. Dean, Abigail Wilder, Mary Ann Jordan, Patrick Smith, Frances Anderson, and Charlotte Morgan, a colored woman.

The first Methodist quarterly meeting in Iowa was held in this log building on August 23, 1834. Changes in ministers were frequent. Five preachers — Barton Randle, Nicholas S. Bastion, Wellington Weigley, Garrett G. Worthington, and I. I. Stewart — faithfully served their flock before a new and larger structure was erected in 1840. During this time the structure had been used as a place of worship for various denominations, served several terms of court under the jurisdiction of Michigan Territory, acted as a schoolhouse, held the meeting to consider the incorporation of the town of Dubuque — in a word functioned as a center of religion, education, and law.

On August 15, 1835, the cornerstone of the first Catholic church in Iowa was laid at Dubuque and in 1836 the completed structure was dedicated as St. Raffael's Church. The edifice was of stone, 40x79, and completed at a cost of \$3000.¹¹² The cornerstone for the first Presbyterian church was laid on July 18, 1836.¹¹³ When the Territory of Iowa was created in 1838, churches of various denominations were sprinkled along the Mississippi from the Half-breed Tract to Dubuque, attesting the growth of communities and the character of the people who resided therein.

¹¹² Kempker's *The First Priests in Iowa* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. IV, pp. 17-21; Parish's *Father Mazzuchelli in The Palimpsest*, Vol. I, pp. 101-110; Oldt's *History of Dubuque County, Iowa*, p. 871; *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1880), p. 603.

¹¹³ Oldt's *History of Dubuque County, Iowa*, pp. 434, 435.

Just as the rough structure of an early Dubuque church met the varied demands of the community, so also did similar humble edifices throughout pioneer Iowa. When the Territorial legislature met at Burlington, the Old Zion church served as a temporary meeting place.¹¹⁴ The pioneer churches erected during the Territorial period were also important because of the part they played in serving the needs of the community as schoolhouses — during the week — at a time when no provisions existed for the establishment of schools. William R. Ross, for example, built a cabin for religious and school purposes at Burlington during the fall of 1833.¹¹⁵

NEWSPAPERS

The settlement around the Dubuque lead mines had experienced a phenomenal growth during the first few years of its existence. Cabins had sprung up like mushrooms from Catfish Creek to Eagle Point. Saloons, a bakery, shops and stores of various descriptions, hotels and taverns, even churches, lined its narrow streets while several frame and brick houses were the object of genuine civic pride. One thing was lacking, however. This was a newspaper. Almost three years had passed since the land had been opened to settlement and still no one had ventured to bring a press into Iowa.

Seeing the need for a newspaper John King, a resident of Ohio who had spent the past year in the mining district, returned to his native State and purchased a Washington hand press, manufactured in Cincinnati by Charles Mallet. Then he hired two assistants. One was William Cary Jones, a Whig, who was to assist King in editing the paper.

¹¹⁴ *The History of Des Moines County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), p. 393.

¹¹⁵ *The History of Des Moines County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), p. 473.

The other man, Andrew Keesecker, was a typesetter and a Democrat. A two-story cabin was secured to house their press and the three men worked quickly on the first issue. On May 11, 1836, *The Dubuque Visitor* made its initial appearance, bearing the heading, "Dubuque Lead Mines, Wisconsin Territory", although the Territory of Wisconsin had not yet been organized.

The Dubuque Visitor was neutral in politics and bore the motto "Truth our Guide; the Public Good our Aim". Six months after its first appearance King sold the paper to W. W. Chapman who in turn disposed of it to William H. Turner. In April, 1837, it was again sold, this time to W. W. Coriell, John King, and John B. Russell. In May of 1837, at the end of the first volume, the name was changed to *The Iowa News*, and the paper then became Democratic in policy.

A romantic history clings to this first Iowa press. After six years of service at Dubuque it was removed to Lancaster, Wisconsin, where H. A. Wiltse used it in printing the *Grant County Herald*. In 1849, J. N. Goodhue took it to St. Paul to print the *Minnesota Pioneer*, the first newspaper in Minnesota Territory. Historians differ as to the final disposition of the press. According to one it was carried across the prairie in 1858 to Sioux Falls where it printed the *Dakota Democrat*, the first newspaper in Dakota Territory. Others contend that it remained in Minnesota and now forms a valuable part of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society.¹¹⁶

The second newspaper in Iowa was *The Western Adventurer* published by Dr. Isaac Galland at Montrose. The

¹¹⁶ Parish's *Three Men and a Press in The Palimpsest*, Vol. I, pp. 56-60; *The History of Dubuque County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1880), p. 584. Mott's *Early Iowa Newspapers* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. XVI, pp. 161-233, gives a fairly comprehensive survey of the early newspapers of Iowa.

first issue appeared on June 28, 1837. Lack of support caused its suspension and the press was then sold to James G. Edwards who began publishing the *Fort Madison Patriot* on March 24, 1838.¹¹⁷

Originally established in Grant County, Wisconsin, as the *Belmont Gazette*, the third newspaper in Iowa was moved to Burlington in July, 1837, by James Clarke (later the third Territorial Governor) who renamed it the *Wisconsin Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser*. This paper continues to this day, through various changes in names, as the *Burlington Gazette*.¹¹⁸

At Davenport on August 5, 1838, appeared the first issue of the *Iowa Sun and Davenport and Rock Island News*, with Andrew Logan as editor. This paper enjoyed only a few years of life.¹¹⁹

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¹¹⁷ Fulton's *Early Journalism in Iowa* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Second Series), Vol. II, pp. 100, 101; *The History of Lee County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), pp. 531, 532.

¹¹⁸ Salter's *James Clarke* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. IV, pp. 2-6; *The History of Des Moines County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), pp. 413, 414.

¹¹⁹ *History of Scott County, Iowa* (Inter-State Publishing Co., Chicago, 1882), pp. 573-575.

THE STORY OF MAHLON DAY COLLINS

The Collins family record in this country parallels that of America from the first days of Plymouth down to the present. The spirit of the family was ever that of the pioneer, impelling them to move on to still unsettled frontiers. These pages outline the experiences of Mahlon Day Collins, one of the eighth generation.

Within the lifetime of the subject of this sketch, vast areas of country were won from savage owners and developed into closely populated Commonwealths. His home life started with the tallow dip and sperm oil lamp for illumination; it ended with the electrical development of the twentieth century. The cotton gin, sewing machine, telegraph, telephone, wireless, radio, phonograph, airplane, submarine, giant battleship, automobile, all and more were developed during this man's life span. With these came thousands of contributions for the comfort of our daily life, making hardware stores, for example, develop from less than one hundred articles to over five thousand.

This man had his part in the national development. As was the case with other pioneers, many material fortunes showed themselves, opportunities knocked often at his door, but were not recognized by reason of the lack of knowledge of what lay ahead. His path finally led along lines of spiritual endeavor for the church of his choice. Character moulded in the rough life of the frontier rose above material things, until he builded himself a record of unselfish, conscientious, gentle, Christian living. High ideals contributed to lofty ambitions, making the basis of the indomitable energy portrayed in this story.

About the year 1900, the writer of these lines suggested to his father that he should set down his own story. After his death we found that he had, in part, acted on the suggestion, and had set down his version carrying him to the year 1860. His own story will make up the first part of this record.

To his children remained the task of filling out what is missing to make the whole story. Ralph Peter Collins, the eldest, who was born when his father was a young man of twenty, took over the task of filling in details down to the '80s. Stories related by father filled in the gaps. The writer has called on each of the remaining members of the family and a cousin, Oella Collins Hewitt, to add to his own personal knowledge, but the story still lacks a vast amount of material which is lost to memory. Twenty years after a man's death is a long time to wait for the recording of his life's work.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

[The autobiographical sketch which appears below bears the inscription, "*The Story of A Collins Including the Tree from Which He Sprang*, by M. D. Collins, Minister of The Gospel". It was written in 1901 and is dedicated "To my dear children who survive — four are upstairs in the heavenly home — Ralph, Mabel, Hubert, Centenella, and Roy, who may take some pleasure in the perusal; and I trust may profit by avoidance of the mistakes, and may find inspiration to honest work and devotion to God, in the record of the life of their father." The story is printed as it was written by Mr. Collins with only a few minor changes.—THE EDITOR.]

LINEAGE

In the Mosaic dispensation, a man was not ready to be a warrior, worker, or worshipper, until he could come before the national assemblage and show his pedigree.

The Collins family are of good lineage and long time residence in America. The first of the line in America was Henry Collins, who embarked in the brig "Abigail" of London, England, on the 10th day of June, 1635, for Plym-

outh Colony, America. In 1638 he had a grant of land. In 1639, he was a member of Salem Court, having fixed his residence on Essex Street, Lynn, which was then contained in Salem Town, all in Massachusetts. This much the early history of Salem records in its brief annals.

Henry Collins, who was born in 1606, and Anna, his wife, who was born in 1605, had four children — Henry, John, Margery, and Joseph. Of these, John and his wife had sixteen children, the youngest of whom was at first named William. This John and a son John were drowned at sea. After this the mother renamed her youngest son John, so that he would bear the name of the father and the older brother.

This second John married Susannah Daggett, and their children were named Rebecca, Sarah, Hezekiah, Jedediah, Lydia, John, Ebenezer, Benjamin, Samuel, and Abigail.

Hezekiah of this family married Catherine Gifford in 1735. They had twelve children. The second child of this union was named Joseph, in my direct line.

This Joseph married Bathsheba Hoxie in 1764. Their family consisted of two daughters and seven sons, one of whom, Joseph, Jr., carried on the line for me.

This Joseph, Jr., married Hannah Sheffield. This couple had six sons and five daughters. Of these children, the youngest was Peter Collins, my father.

Peter Collins was born on May 16, 1804, at Hopkinton, R. I. In 1825 he married Sarah Hall, another native of Hopkinton. They were married in Brookfield, N. Y., whither the parents of both had migrated from Hopkinton about the year 1810. My mother, Sarah Hall Collins, was a daughter of William and Mary Hall.

The first of the Hall family to come to this country was Colonel Hall of the British Army, who came to America about 1638. For "services rendered" the King of England

had granted to him a tract of land, including a large part of Rhode Island. One of this line was George Hall who married Mary Durfee — and their son, William, and his wife Mary were the parents of Sarah Hall Collins who became my mother.

Eight children were born to Peter and Sarah Collins, five of whom reached manhood and womanhood. My brothers and sisters were Joseph, Thomas Elwood, Hannah, Amelia Jane, Henry Hinsdale, Huldah, and Anna Frances. These with myself, the fifth in seniority, completed the list of eight.

Joseph, the eldest, and Henry Hinsdale, the sixth, died in infancy, the former in New York State, the latter at Salem, Iowa. Sister Huldah also died in girlhood at Salem and since then, Hannah, Amelia, and Anna have also joined father and mother in the skies, leaving brother Elwood and myself as the sole survivors of the family.¹

I was born on August 13, 1838, in New York City. My parents were Friends, or Quakers, and were conscientious Christians after the orthodox standards of that society.

EARLY IOWA

My father was a life sufferer from asthma, due to the effects of a cold while a child. While engaged in business in New York City, his health became so impaired by the damp sea breezes, which greatly aggravated his disease, that his physician advised a change of climate. He accordingly made a trip westward in search of recuperated energies.

He first went to Ohio, thence to Richmond, Indiana, without satisfaction. There he joined an exploring party of Quakers bound for Iowa. They came in wagons, bringing up at Salem, Henry County. The town had been laid out by

¹ Mahlon Day Collins died in 1904, and his brother Elwood in 1917.

Quakers, for Quakers, and had been in existence some two years at the time of their arrival. Hiram Street, a Quaker of Salem, Ohio, had laid out the town and when father decided to settle in Salem, Street became father's first partner in the mercantile business.

He wrote mother of his purpose, while she was yet in New York City. To reconcile her to the undertaking he wrote, "The modern facilities for travel are so perfected now, it will require about three weeks to make the trip". Mother at once set about preparation for the migration and a few days after father's return all was ready for the move.

We traveled by the best and most modern transportation methods of the time — from New York City to Philadelphia by boat, thence westward by rail for sixty miles, then by canal to Pittsburgh. We went down the Ohio by steamboat and up the Mississippi to Keokuk, Iowa. From here a wagon bore us to our new home in Salem. At that time this comprised rapid transit from New York City to Salem, Iowa. The journey took us a little more than three weeks, as father had estimated in his letter. You can now pass between these points in two days and nights, scarcely realizing how it is done, per Pullman sleepers and dining car service.²

When we reached Iowa Territory in 1842 the country was very new and but partially organized in settlements. A row of counties on the south bordering the State of Missouri had already been established and a line two counties wide bordered the Mississippi River. Many of these were crudely organized. The remainder of the territory was inhabited by Indians, buffalo, elk, deer, wolves, and other denizens of that virgin country.

The followers of George Fox made up the greater number

² Since this was written in 1901, the traveling time between New York City and Salem has been reduced to hours instead of days, by the use of airplanes.

of inhabitants of the village of Salem, while hundreds of others filled the surrounding country. These peaceful people came from all parts of the United States, east and south, and gave character to the society in this region during its formative period. Education, temperance, religion, and anti-slavery sentiments were early and thoroughly propagated and good seed sown, which has been bearing fruit nearly sixty years in one of the most progressive parts of the American Union. The Salem Seminary, afterward a college, was one of the first educational institutions of a higher order in the State. My father had much to do with its founding, and with the bringing of Rebecca Dorland, its first principal, from the Nine Partners Boarding School on the Hudson River to take charge of the new school. Here the principal educational advantages I have had were enjoyed. Precious are the memories, life-long the inspirations and impressions there experienced.

Salem figured largely in the growing anti-slavery agitation throughout the West. It was one of the first stations by which escaped slaves made their way to Canada on the "Underground Railway" of that day. Being but thirty-three miles north of the line which separated slave from free territory, it was often the "point of hope" where fugitive slaves began to experience "their first breath of liberty". My father was one of the pioneer "conductors" on this "subterranean" path to freedom.

At one time — about 1850 as I recall it, for I have no page save that of memory for reference — fourteen colored people who had escaped from their masters made their way to Salem.³ There they found temporary rest in various homes of known and trusted ones among the "broadbrims".

³ This story of the escape of the two slaves at Salem differs in some particulars from other accounts. For other versions see Jones's *The Quakers of Iowa*, pp. 189-191, and Garretson's *The Underground Railroad in Iowa* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, July, 1924, pp. 431-434.

The next day, I think it was, while the fugitives were resting quietly in the homes of Friends, preparing for the journey northward, a company of slave hunters, numbering fully one hundred men, rode into town. They were all mounted on swift steeds and dashed up under full speed, accompanied by blood hounds, so necessary in such a chase.

At that moment I was attending school, and I well remember seeing our teacher's expression as she glanced through the open door to the south. We also looked and down the road toward Missouri we saw a cloud of dust which betokened a crowd of horsemen rapidly approaching. The teacher guessed their errand, hastily called school to attention, and hurriedly dismissed us to our homes.

The horsemen came on apace, and soon dashed into the village looking very like an army of occupation, armed as they were with rifles, shot-guns, pistols, sabers, bowie knives, and other furnishings for their work. They took possession of the town, and having warrants began at once to search the houses for their lost property.

The Quakers were anti-war and anti-slavery people, but they were adept in secreting fugitives and aiding them in eluding their masters and owners. Though these raiders swore and blustered, threatened personal violence, and called on the law then in their favor, yet a hard day's work on their part brought no results. My father helped them to hunt most carefully and thoroughly, where he knew there were no fugitives. They were about to give up in disgust when an old negro man and child ran in terror from a hiding place, where they might well have remained in safety.

Although these two ran into the hands of those who would bear them back to slavery, and the law was on the side of the masters, yet their Quaker friends did not give up. They resorted to strategy.

There were none better fitted for this than some of the

meek appearing followers of him who was fittingly named — Fox. Court was held in the anti-slavery meeting house and the law in favor of the slave owners was quibbled over pro and con until it was time to adjourn court for the day. As the crowd poured out of the house, a demure looking Quaker from the country rode up to the door, mounted on a horse apparently from the work field. He led another horse. The rider seemed attracted by the crowd and curious to know the cause. He made his inquiring way into the confusion of the dispersing assemblage. Suddenly, the old fugitive slave and the child with him were both seized and placed on the back of the led animal. Every Quaker in the crowd immediately started yelling and running about, getting in the way of slave hunters, and at the same time giving the mounted Quaker and his charges the opportunity to ride away. Then it became evident that the Quaker's mount and the led animal were both fast steeds. The riders were rapidly borne away from the clutches of the law and before the slave hunters and the sheriff's posse had recovered from their surprise at what was going on, the slaves were far away and safe in the country.

The next day the slave hunting crew, full of wrath at the failure of the previous day's work, set about intimidating the townspeople. The Quakers were men of peace but they had many friends in the surrounding country not so peaceably inclined. These had been apprised of the situation, and early in the morning after the escape of the two slaves, companies of men, on horseback, in two and four horse wagons, and afoot, began to arrive in town. They put up with the inhabitants and at the hotel. Every man was armed. By the middle of the afternoon the enemy began to take alarm, when they discovered they were outnumbered more than two to one by quiet men who evidently intended to stand by the Quakers. By night time, these men, so

brave when dealing heartlessly and relentlessly with slave men, women, and children, were thoroughly frightened. After the shades of night had fallen on their camp near the village, they "folded their tents like the Arab and silently stole away".

Thus ended without violence what would have been a bloody day had one gun been fired. This was one of the early throes of that "irrepressible conflict" which ultimately ended in the "War of the Rebellion", in the midst of which the shackles were stricken from the limbs of three million slaves.

During the years immediately following 1850 a rapid flow of immigration came pouring into the new Commonwealth. Our family joined the movement into the portions of the region where new settlements were being made.

We moved to Muscatine first. There my uncle, Brinton Darlington, had lived since 1838, when he had emigrated from Fayette County, Pennsylvania. His second wife was my aunt, mother's sister, Amelia Hall.

Father and Uncle Brinton united in the business of a furniture store located on Second Street, Muscatine, and I became clerk in this store in the fall of 1853, living with uncle in the town. The following spring father moved his general dry goods and grocery business from Salem to Muscatine. With the goods came the family, so Muscatine became our home town and continued so for several years.

In 1854, father started a branch store in Marshall County. Thomas Darlington, brother of Brinton Darlington, became father's partner in this newest store, which was located in the town of Marietta, at that time the county seat of Marshall County. This was 125 miles distant from Muscatine, and all the goods were transported from the latter place by wagon. As soon as the branch store was opened, I was made the "freighter" for the firm. All goods used in the

store at Marietta were carried there by wagon under my guidance. In the interim between long trips with goods, I acted as clerk in the store. It was on the edge of the frontier and we did a large business trading for furs with Indians, hunters, and trappers.

In the spring of 1854, father moved his whole stock of goods and family to Marietta, and the family lived there for a short time. But the moving tide bore us on. The same year we were to shift again.

Father and three others laid out the town of Rocksylvania, adjoining Iowa Falls, which had been platted the previous year. My brother, Thomas Elwood, had married Sarah Williams who had emigrated from Ohio that year with her sisters, Mary and Kate, and her brothers, John and Benjamin. Elwood purchased a farm on the Iowa River six miles north of Iowa Falls in Hardin County.

Our family soon removed to Rocksylvania where father and I started a store. We conducted the first post office in that place as an adjunct to the store. I already had office experience while conducting the post office at Muscatine for John A. McCormick. We tarried about a year in Rocksylvania.

Brother Elwood and John Williams, his brother-in-law, explored the newly opened region on the upper Des Moines River, and secured claims on Lotts Creek in what afterwards became Humboldt County,⁴ but was then Kossuth County. After we sold out in Rocksylvania, father, mother, the two youngest daughters, and I returned to Muscatine.

⁴ The original Humboldt County was established by a law approved on January 15, 1851. On January 24, 1855, it was joined to Webster County and another act divided it between Kossuth and Webster counties. Humboldt County was created on January 28, 1857. It had much the same territory as Humboldt County, but was not exactly the same.—Swisher's *History of the Organization of the Counties in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XX, pp. 530, 551, 557, 558, 575.

Father then made an exploring trip to Minnesota. Seeing — as he had peculiarly prescient faculties for discerning — that there was to be a metropolis adjoining St. Paul, he went in with others to lay out Minneapolis. As one portion of the partnership contribution, he agreed to send a store to the young city and intended to have me fulfil the bargain. But while he was away on this trip, Elwood had emigrated to the new region in Kossuth County and had started to lay out a town to be called Sumner, for one of his political friends. He had written me ordering a stock of goods, and instructing me to join him with them in the new country. This scheme was so far consummated when father returned from Minnesota, that his scheme was abandoned. Father saw then and repeated it often afterwards that this was a great mistake. So it was. His plan would have made us prominent shareholders, one of the eight partners in Minneapolis, which he said would yet be a great city. He was right. Our town of Sumner never materialized. Minneapolis was laid out in 1855 and has become one of the most enterprising and beautiful cities of the West. Our holdings would have been of immense value.

It was in the fall of 1856 that I reached my brother's place just south of Lotts Creek in Kossuth County. My goods had preceded me and Elwood had dug a cellar and placed them in it. Awaiting the erection of a store building in the new town, he had begun a survey just across the creek to the northwest. I afterwards purchased from the government a quarter section of land north of the creek in the section he surveyed. There I made my home.

I think it was October when I reached the new settlement on Lotts Creek. The weather was beautiful Indian summer, and continued most delightful until the first day of November. Then all was changed. With the ground yet unfrozen, and from one of the most bland and beautiful

falls, we were within three days ushered into one of the most severe, even terrible winters I have ever seen either before or since. The first day of November it began to snow, gently and beautifully at first, but with increasing volume and violence for three days and nights. When it halted on the third day the mantle of snow was four feet deep on the level in the woods and all depths on the prairies where the wind had piled and windrowed it in fantastic shapes and depths.

From that time until the following April the cold was intense, reaching 40° F below zero a number of times. The snow was followed by rain turning into sleet which laid a heavy crust over the whole snow surface. This icy veneering was not heavy enough to hold horses, however, and they could not be used as an aid to transportation. Mails were carried on foot from Fort Dodge to Algona, a distance of forty-five miles, and we went there for it — afoot. Transportation of goods was reduced to what men could draw on hand sleds from one place to another.

My future brother-in-law, Ben Williams, and I made one memorable trip during that severe winter, from our settlement on Lotts Creek to a point near Liberty in Wright County. Houses were no nearer to each other than twenty miles at any point on this route. A load of my goods had been left near Liberty by my brother, when he had been forced to abandon it by the first storm described. He had been caught out and frozen so badly that he was laid up the remainder of the winter, and never entirely recovered from his experiences. Ben Williams and I crossed this wintry waste of prairies which were ridged and furrowed with deep lines of snow. The entire surface was covered with a deep crust of ice. We harnessed ourselves to a hand sled we had made, and with this we glided over the icy surface the full distance with little trouble and no fatigue. We were

young and vigorous, delighted to face the weather and defy Boreas on his own field of battle. We made the trip out in quick time. The next day we returned with about three hundred pounds of freight on the sled. It comprised the most needed things for our use during the Arctic weather, among which I recall a heating stove. The return trip with this load was not so easily accomplished as the out-going one had been. The loaded sled would sometimes break through the crust and require tugging to move it forward. However, we reached the nearest house of our settlement in the dark that evening pretty well fagged out, and were hailed as successful Arctic explorers. The winter continued relentless and severe.

Brother Elwood was laid up the whole winter, nearly helpless from his freezing experience, and during the whole time his live stock was penned up on the north hillside in sheds, so shut in with the heavy snows, they could not be gotten out. I carried water to them, and hauled the hay they ate, on a hand sled the distance of a half mile. Caring for brother's stock and his family, in addition to my other duties, gave me ample employment. I remember some years afterwards I applied for a certificate from the county superintendent of common schools to authorize me "to teach the young idea how to shoot". He gave me this sentence to parse, "Long will the settlers of Iowa remember the hard winter of 1856-57". I can testify to its severity in the West, and I think it was general throughout the United States.

The long, weary winter wore away at last, to be succeeded by a very wet spring and summer. The country was flooded and the level regions of northern Iowa were covered with water. Streams were high and facilities for crossing them were crude and primitive. We must needs take our grist to a mill thirty miles away at Fort Dodge to obtain

our flour. Ben Williams and I worked together on these errands. The only stream that had a bridge the previous year was minus it on our trip that spring. We found the floor of the bridge, held together by some stringers, lodged down stream in some bushes on the bank. Reclaiming this for our use, we got it back in the water and used it for a raft. On this we placed our grist, fastened a rope to our float, swam across and pulled the raft after us, thus keeping the precious grain dry. We swam the horses across. Then we chained the wagon body to the gear and pulled it through the flood. When we came to the West Fork of the Des Moines River, we took another means of crossing. Finding a large walnut log, we hollowed out a canoe. In this we ferried our grist and wagon in separate pieces, assembling the latter after crossing. We swam the horses but passed dry ourselves in the canoe. Thus we proceeded on our way rejoicing. Such experiences developed resourcefulness and gave us confidence in ourselves. This was needed in conquering the difficulties of a new country.

The lakes, ponds, and streams harbored myriads of water fowl. Geese, ducks, sand-hill and white cranes, an endless variety of birds such as I have never seen since, were everywhere on the prairie and in the woods. This condition of bird life was universal over Iowa that year of 1857. If you were on one of the prairies spending the night, as we frequently were, you would hear "voices in the night" of almost endless variety known to the vocabulary of bird tongues.

Doctor Williams, my future father-in-law, lived about two miles down the creek from my brother's place. I was attracted to his home by his daughter Keturah who graced the hospitable home as no other could. Sundays, and every other time I could spare during the spring and summer of 1857, I spent in the company of this magnet.

The following fall, September 24, 1857, I was married to Keturah A. Williams, daughter of Doctor Dearman Williams, then of Lotts Creek, Humboldt County, Iowa, but late of Ohio. He had migrated two or three years before and settled first in Marshall County, then followed his children to Humboldt County. The Williams and Collins families were finally united in a four-fold bond of marriage, of which mine was the second. The Williams family were of Welsh origin with considerable residence in America at the time.

The first of this family to come to America was Robert Williams, who was born in Wales and died in North Carolina. His first marriage was to Elizabeth Dearman, a native of England. From her Doctor Williams, my wife's father, had his first name. It is said that Elizabeth Dearman had been maid-of-honor to Queen Anne of England. By this marriage there was one child, a son named Richard. Robert Williams was married a second time to Elizabeth Dew, by whom he had three children — Samuel, John S., and Elizabeth.

Richard Williams, the eldest son of Robert Williams, was born in Newbern, N. C. He was quite highly connected. Sir Richard Church was a cousin. The Backhouses, bankers of York, England, were relatives on the mother's side. Elizabeth Robinson, noted minister of the Friends, was also a cousin. Richard Williams married Sarah Dew, by whom he had one son, Robert. His second marriage was to Sarah Stanton, a native of Beaufort, N. C. She was born on January 12, 1778, and died in Stark County, Ohio, on November 11, 1843. The children of these two marriages and the dates of their births were as follows: Robert, born August 29, 1797; Elizabeth, born September 9, 1799; Abigail, born September 19, 1802; Dearman, born October 12, 1804; Deborah, born November 30, 1806; Asa, born Decem-

ber 27, 1808; Mary, born April 7, 1811; Benjamin, born April 3, 1814; Lydia, born May 2, 1816; David, born September 23, 1818; and Edward, born February 5, 1821.

Dearman Williams was my wife's father. On November 27, 1830, he married Mary Farmer. To them were born eight children — John F., born August 17, 1831; Rebecca, born January 17, 1833; Sarah, born January 29, 1835; Benjamin, born January 17, 1837; Keturah, born September 22, 1839; Mary E., born May 20, 1842; James, born June 19, 1845; and Edwin, born February 3, 1847. John F. Williams married Amelia Bond Collins; Sarah Williams married T. Elwood Collins; Benjamin Williams married Anna F. Collins; and Keturah Williams married Mahlon D. Collins.

TRAVELS IN THE WEST

The hard times of 1857-1858 made business precarious, and although I had opened a farm adjoining the village we had started and kept the store going, yet with building and improving, it was largely outlay with too small an income. By the spring of 1860 Ben Williams and I were ready to join the flood of fortune seekers who were pouring westward to the Eldorado that had the winter before been discovered in the Rocky Mountains. On the 8th day of May, 1860, Ben Williams, his sister Mary, my wife, and I, with our son Ralph, started for the gold mines in what was then known as the Pike's Peak Region.

We outfitted at Omaha, which was then a young city of three or four thousand people, and the capital of Nebraska Territory. After a few days at this outfitting point we joined the tide which poured westward.

We started with two yoke of oxen, two cows, and a wagon full of supplies. For nine weeks, with some stops to recuperate the animals, we trudged toward the setting sun. A few villages were scattered along to Fort Kearney, where

we bid good-bye to any organized civilization until we reached Denver at the foot of the Rocky Mountains. We arrived there on July 1, 1860. Wild game was plentiful, and although the main stream of buffalo had already passed the line of travel in their annual feeding northward, yet we saw a goodly number of them who had lingered behind the main army.

My wife, her sister, and Ralph, while returning to the States in the fall, encountered the stream of buffalo at full tide, and found the company innumerable. With these were wolves, coyotes, antelope, deer, elk, and all the denizens of the prairies. They were scattered over the entire area from the Rocky Mountains to the Missouri River.

Crossing the plains at that early date was much like a voyage at sea. Supplies must be carried the whole way. White wagon covers, like sails at sea, dotted the expanse from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains, which formed the western shore of this wild sea.

We found Denver a brisk young city of perhaps three thousand people. Many were living in tents, and the only houses erected were light and temporary in character. The capital of the Territory was located at Colorado City soon after the date of our arrival. Colorado City bid fair to surpass Denver in importance — then. Denver was chaotic, with its motley company of people from all parts of the country, East and West. Its government was nothing but form. Gamblers had free sway. We stayed from the first to the fifth of July in this wild place. Seven men were shot in Denver on the Fourth of July, and I do not think any of the murderers were arrested. Little attention was paid to it.

On the fifth of July we started for the mountains by the Mount Vernon route. We paid \$1.75 toll for the chance of reaching the mines by this route. It was barely passable by

teams, and was very rough and difficult. I remember one mountain side we descended, so steep that we chained a log to the rear of the wagon for a drag to prevent its getting the best of us. Often we took to the bed of a mountain stream for our course, passing through its rapidly flowing waters.

We reached Lake Gulch where some who had crossed the plains with us from Glenwood, Iowa, had located and opened a store. Here we tarried a few days, and then purchased a claim in Graham Gulch. We removed thither and entered at once on a miner's life. We built a log cabin on the south side of the gulch and began mining with "Long Tom and Sluice". We had to strip the ground down 12 to 15 feet to reach pay. The return was fair, but inexperience, water which would fill the pits, and many other things made it difficult to make money there. Companies came in there later, bought the claims, and with hydraulic machinery cleaned up from \$2000 to \$5000 on each claim in that gulch. We soon found it was not profitable to keep the women there. They had no society to mingle with and when we found some friends returning to the States in the fall of 1860 we sent the two women and Ralph back to Iowa.

The mining season closed early in September, and Ben and I decided to have a hunt. He had some experience trapping beaver in Iowa, and had brought along a box of Newhouse traps. We fitted up a handcart with which to transport our supplies, for we were to enter a country where there were no wagon roads. We set out one bright September morning for the headwaters of North Boulder Creek. Making our way up the north branch of the creek toward Long's Peak at a point pretty well toward the head of North Boulder, we found an abundance of beaver dams. Selecting a beautiful, romantic spot to the south of the creek, we built a cabin and set to work trapping beaver.

In two weeks we caught thirty-seven beaver, the pelts of which were fine, dark, heavy fur. Game was plentiful and we fared sumptuously. Beaver tails were a rich dainty among hunters and trappers, and of these we had plenty to add to all other kinds of game meat. Altogether we had more than we could use.

Needing supplies and some pack animals, we returned to Central City to dispose of our furs, bought some donkeys and returned to our camp. As we had cleaned up the beaver in that locality, we determined to cross the range and find our way to Middle Park, which we knew lay to the west. We set out on this trip late in September or early October. Our task was to scale the Rockies at one of the most rugged parts of this mighty masonry of the Supreme Architect. We knew nothing of the way, but followed the stream to its source in a large lake just at the foot of the "snow line". The going was bad. We had left our pack animals behind, and were carrying guns, blankets, and such supplies as we could pack on our backs. We relied on the game for our living.

We reached the summit of the mountains about 2 P. M., one day, and looked around on a range of points extending as far as the eye could reach, all covered with snow and ice. Hardly had we glanced over the scene when the sky was overcast, and in a few minutes we were in the midst of a whirling, roaring blizzard on the top of the Rocky Mountains. We hastened back to the lake we had passed on our upward course, and on the south side of the lake in the shelter of an overhanging shelf of rocks, we built a camp fire and passed a sleepless night. The snow would come in great gusts and nearly extinguish the fire. Piling on more fuel we would resuscitate the fire, and then take a turn at trying to sleep between it and the rock wall. Work, smoke, and snow kept us awake all night.

When morning broke we looked out on a blanket of snow covering the mountains two feet deep, with more coming down. We took up the descent toward the lower mountains after a breakfastless good-bye to our snowy camp. Our last food had been devoured the day before. We expected to find game that day, but the animals had scented the storm and put out for lower levels. We trudged along wallowing through snow to our arm pits for several days. I think we passed full ten days under these conditions without food. During this time we saw one grouse flying high. The last night before reaching the settlements, we found a deep place in the stream where there were beaver "signs". Cutting a hole in the ice we found beaver stores of food, and a runway to the bank. Setting three traps down beside this runway, we were rewarded in the morning by a fine young beaver, caught in all three of the traps — one had him by a forefoot, one by a hind leg, one fastened on his tail. We had a fine breakfast and started on our way rejoicing. Near noon we shot a fine elk. We stopped to dress the carcass, hung it up out of reach of wolves, and had another feast. The next day we reached Lump Gulch at late dinner time. In spite of our feast the previous day, we were so emaciated that the men immediately saw our need of food and told us to sit down and help ourselves. We soon made ourselves sick, and it was several days afterwards before we felt right.

During the stress of our difficulties, as we saw no food in sight day after day, Ben and I both became very irritable toward each other. I recall one day as we marched along in arduous toil, the following conversation. "One good thing about this, Mahlon", said Ben. "What is it, Ben?" I snapped back. "It couldn't be any worse." After this one outburst we journeyed the balance of the day without another spoken word.

From Lump Gulch we set out for the lower country and brought up in Denver again. It had been long since we had received mail. I went to the express office to get letters. At that time letters were brought across the plains by the pony express, and cost us twenty-five cents each, in addition to postage. While waiting in line for my opportunity to call for mail, a gentleman whom I had seen before, named Van Camp, called to me that he wished to see me as soon as I was at leisure.

After securing my mail I went outside and Van Camp told me of a "discovery" having been made in the San Juan country of northeast Arizona. He asked me to act as hunter of an expedition of about two hundred men who were going to open up the country. A bargain was soon closed, and we started before daylight the next morning with myself in this official position, all bound for the Sangre de Cristo Pass of the Raton Range of the Rocky Mountains.

MORE STORIES OF THE EARLY YEARS

[The personal account of the life of M. D. Collins ends at this point. The story of his life is continued by the author, but before going on with the subsequent events, he adds some items to the information given in this autobiographical sketch. Much of this has been derived from stories told by Mahlon D. Collins, authenticated wherever possible by documents found among his effects at the time of his death.—THE EDITOR.]

Mahlon D. Collins at one time visited the shores of the Mississippi River above the city of Keokuk. That he possessed daring and determination is clear, for he plunged into the water and swam across to the Illinois shore and back again. This was some feat for a boy. It might not be so considered in these days of Gertrude Ederles, but it was in that day of self instruction. He had mastered the breast stroke while a boy and used it in the water through life.

During the hard winter of 1856-1857, of which he writes, M. D. Collins led a busy life. In addition to the care of his

brother's family and stock, he had his own duties to perform. To fill in time, and no doubt for his own amusement, he added to the life of that snow-bound, frontier community by printing a daily paper. This was called *The Daily Moccasin*. In it he printed all news of the settlement and what came to him in the mail. That, no doubt, was the first newspaper in what is now Humboldt County, Iowa.

Of his courtship he never spoke, but there is a bundle of letters extant which show his ardent thoughts. He addressed his future wife as Mary Grove. The use of this name shows the romantic nature of the young man for she had been christened Keturah Williams, and there seems to have been no necessity for a pseudo-name. The correspondence lasted through one winter and spring, after which the two lived in the same community and personal calls took the place of writing.

Mahlon Day Collins and Keturah Ann Williams were married according to the tenets of the Society of Friends, in which both had been raised and trained. Immediately afterwards they took up housekeeping in their own home on Lotts Creek, now Livermore, Iowa.

That fall of 1857, the bride was alone one day when a neighbor's boy rode up to the cabin and told her that Sioux Indians were raiding the country. A day or two before the Indians had killed the settlers and destroyed the homes at Spirit Lake, not over seventy miles from the Collins home. Other settlers had died by the acts of Indians on Lake Okoboji. Kate was alarmed, and was only partly reassured when Mahlon returned in the evening. The few people in the vicinity gathered together in one or two houses, and spent an anxious night as the men stood guard.

More rumors came next day, and it was not at all certain the Indians would not reach Lotts Creek. They still laid claim to the country and wished to drive all whites from it.

Mahlon headed a squad of frontiersmen who decided to remain on the ground and defend their homes from the savages. They placed the women and children and some old folks in charge of a group of men and boys and started them for Fort Dodge. The sickly ones were placed in wagons, but the majority walked across the prairies of northwest Iowa. At Fort Dodge they were huddled in a few shacks for several weeks before they could return home.

Mahlon Day Collins was yet in his twentieth year when his friends and neighbors elected him justice of the peace of the newly formed county of Humboldt. Justice Jonathan Hutchinson signed the affidavit making Mahlon secure in this office. Mahlon heard a case the first day of his tenure.

Benjamin Williams was always close to Mahlon in companionship and the two were real pals. Ben was notably hotheaded. This quality frequently led him into hasty action and trouble. On the morning when Mahlon took over the justiceship there was an altercation in a neighbor's yard, in which Ben Williams had taken part. Angered at the neighbor's words, he had cleared a dividing fence at one bound and in the next stride he had knocked the neighbor flat to the ground. The neighbor was soon thoroughly thrashed and begged for mercy, but he still felt that he had not merited punishment. Ben also continued to make threats. There was a new justice of the peace sworn to look after such happenings, deal justice, and protect the timid. The neighbor swore out a complaint and Ben was brought before his friend for judgment. "One dollar and costs", said Mahlon, and "Keep the peace".

Mahlon once drove a team of oxen to Fort Des Moines to purchase stock for his store on Lotts Creek. Some incidents and conditions on that frontier were related to me in the city of Des Moines thirty years later. An experience of my own led to the story.

One of the dim recollections of my youth is of having accompanied my uncle Ed to some relative's home about the year 1877. The relative lived on the east side of Des Moines and my impression of this visit seems to have been effectively engraved by the fact that I saw men working in a coal mine, at the foot of a bluff. The vein lay horizontal and a shaft had been run into the bluff just above the level and parallel to the surface of the river. I carried this picture in my mind for eleven or twelve years until one day when the family were living in Des Moines, I found myself looking for the mine location. Father was with me, for I had told him of the memory. He had replied that there was a mine at one time, along the river shore under the bluff. We finally found it abandoned, with some industrial track and rusting cars lying about. The opening was at a point close to where the southern boundary line of Capitol Park now reaches the water's edge.

As we stood there recalling our mutual memories, I noted a far-away, quizzical expression on father's face. Memory was taking him back thirty years into the past. "Yes", said he. "It was just about here". Then he explained.

On the journey down from Lotts Creek in the year 1858 he had traveled a long distance without watering his oxen. They were thirsty and smelled water ahead of them while yet some distance from the river. He noticed that they walked faster and faster, finally breaking into a run which he could not check. The team galloped down the road to a point where it turned south along the edge of the bluff. There they left the road and plunged down the precipitous bluff with the wagon. Strange as it may seem, neither wagon nor oxen were seriously damaged by the fall, and the animals were drinking their fill in the river by the time father reached them. The point where the team had tumbled over the bluff was close to the mine shaft we had just found.

Asked further of conditions in 1858, father said his road led him down the river to about where the Coon River enters the Des Moines. It led him past a grove of trees, at that time a deer park, where he shot a deer. That park was where the present State Capitol building now stands. The place, then known as Fort Des Moines, had a few hundred inhabitants in 1858. In the year 1888 a city of 40,000 inhabitants was named Des Moines. In 1925, 67 years after his experience, the inhabitants numbered 141,441 — an illustration of the growth of our mid-western cities.

In his written account of crossing the plains in the year 1860, M. D. Collins left out much of what happened. He also wrote as though there were not many buffalo encountered. His wife added the three stories which follow.

The warlike Cheyenne and Sioux Indians seemed more occupied with hunting fugitive Pawnees than otherwise. The Cheyennes were chasing the Pawnees all over the plains, killing, making captives, and burning villages. This chase took much attention from the whites. Acting as scout, Mahlon often discovered war parties drawing near. At such times the travelers would prepare for defense until the marauders were gone. Refugee Pawnee women and children fled to the wagon train for protection from their foes and they were sheltered and fed.

Once Mahlon was lost for two days. He ranged the trackless prairies and slept on the ground without protection. Eventually he found his way back to camp through the thoughtfulness of his wife, who ordered the camp held in one spot and had a lantern lighted and hoisted up on the end of a wagon tongue at night. This served as a beacon which guided the lost one back to camp at the end of the second day.

At one stage of the trip, the wagon train was threatened with extinction by a stampede of buffalo, which was averted

when Mahlon led the men in making a "split" of the oncoming herd. Thus the lives of the company were saved.

While the Collins party were spending the few days in Denver on the way to the mines, they became acquainted with a man by the name of Brown. This man owned a forty acre plot of ground taking in the new camp and extending beyond, and had built a cabin on the bank of Cherry Creek. Mahlon and his wife had brought a cook stove all the way from Iowa. Such stoves were evidently scarce in the camp for Brown offered to trade the forty acres for the cook stove.

Mahlon gave the man a withering look and said, "Do you see any green in my eye?" Then he continued, "I guess not". "Trade you a perfectly good cook stove for your forty worthless acres of sand hills". He left Brown with indignation.

Forty years after this incident, Mahlon Collins spent some days in the city of Denver. Looking about he finally came to the conclusion that the forty acres which had been offered him for a cook stove, lay in the heart of the city and that the cabin site had been approximately where the Lorimer Street viaduct now spans the bed of Cherry Creek.

The following story has also been handed down of the trapping expedition of Mahlon Collins and Ben Williams. One day the two men ascended to the top of a nearby mountain. Daylight was on the wane by the time they reached their objective and in order to return more quickly they selected a short cut down the trailless mountain side. Soon they were going over cliffs which prevented a return, for they dropped from ledge to ledge. They finally brought up on a ledge where further progress seemed impossible, and they could not go back. Lying on the ledge, Mahlon discovered another ledge below them which he could reach by backing off the one they were on and holding Ben's hand

to let him down a few inches until he could swing in to his new footing. Mahlon accomplished this maneuver in safety. It was now Ben's turn to reach his pal's side and there was no one to hold him from above. Mahlon finally directed Ben to slide over the edge and let himself go, assuring him that he would be caught and pulled to safety.

At the word "ready" Ben lowered himself over the cliff edge, noting as he did so the canyon bottom some hundred feet or more below. Letting his body down as far as his hands could be used to hold him, he let go as Mahlon grasped him about the waist and drew him back beside him. After a time they discovered a way leading downward to a point where they could leap to the canyon floor and reached the cabin soon afterwards.

Mahlon Day Collins had reached his twenty-second year in the year 1860. Six feet tall, with broad square shoulders, he had not an ounce of fat in the 190 pounds weight he carried. His hair was of dark, reddish-brown color, very curly then and all through life. Bluish tinted, grey eyes looked sharply from well-formed brows. He never took on weight, nor did his hair grow thin to any extent. His appearance was about the same to the end of his days, aside from the usual shrinkage of age and the streaks of white in the hair. As soon as he could, he raised a full beard which he retained, with variations of trimming, all his life.

Outdoor life on the frontiers made an athlete of him. The habit of walking long distances stayed with him ever. His stride was a series of short steps, as he successively placed each foot in alternation, one before the other as an Indian does. He walked so rapidly that one with him was often compelled to trot to keep pace. On long trips afoot, such as while crossing the plains, he averaged thirty miles per day. This distance was made in addition to stops for hunting.

On his trips to Colorado and New Mexico he was clothed as the hunter of that day. Fringed buckskin shirt worn belted at the waist, over-leggins, and moccasins. He carried a rifle and hunting knife. With the former he was expert among gun users. Among his brothers-in-law and the immediate family, he was conceded the quickest, most accurate shot, for he seldom missed a shot and birds fell pierced through the head by his unerring aim.

Companions of his young manhood gave him credit for continual cheerfulness and he was a rare raconteur of tales about the camp fire of evenings. He loved to joke others, and could as readily enjoy one at his own expense. Always considerate, he showed the instincts of a born gentleman.

HUNTER-TRAPPER-SCOUT

The early morning start of the San Juan expedition was made from Denver late in October or early November, 1860. Some of the crowd of nearly two hundred adventurers traveled on foot, some were mounted on horses, while the others rode in wagons. Thus they moved as fast as the slowest, the men on foot. The country teemed with game, and meat was the principal fare. Mahlon Collins was to furnish this and did so as long as he was with them.

Each morning he started on foot as the expedition broke camp, going ahead along a line agreed upon for the day's march. He would start at a trot which carried him ahead of the van. When he was a sufficient distance ahead he would start work. Antelope, deer, elk, and buffalo furnished acceptable meat. Having made a kill, he would skin and clean the carcass, and deposit the dressed meat on the hide placed close to the line of travel to be picked up by the cooks. When he found buffalo or elk his day was not so long. Antelope and deer took more time to hunt and more of them to make up the required poundage. The trail followed the

base of the foothills. Game had been driven from the mountains by the snows, and the country was a veritable hunter's paradise. That crowd of men never wanted for enough meat to satisfy their hunger. It was there; the hunter secured it.

They traveled from Denver over the divide into the Arkansas Valley at Pueblo. The cavalcade progressed at the rate of twenty miles per day. From Pueblo they journeyed west by south, finally pointing for Moscow Pass in the Wet Mountains. Just after reaching a location where a forward look through the pass revealed the Sangre de Cristo Range beyond, the whole crowd was snowed in. Camp was made and a pow-wow held. A retreat was decided upon, for the higher range ahead was buried in snow. The expedition leaders then led the men on the backward trail, leaving only the two who had decided to push ahead.

Mahlon Collins had found a kindred spirit and the two pushed on through Moscow Pass. It was no small task for two men thus to brave the terrors of winter in the high altitudes of the Rocky Mountains. Endurance and resourcefulness were needed. The two proved equal to the requirement. For many days they struggled through the lonely, unknown territory. Without snowshoes, they floundered through drifts, flailing their arms to get breath. After an almost continuous fight for life, their will and stamina won, and they emerged into the Rio Grande Valley. There they found smiling skies and snow disappeared from their course. Recovering quickly from the strain, their youthful vigor allowed them to proceed on their way at a good pace.

Indians, and Mexicans with Indian blood and as wild, met them with surly glances. They soon learned that Mexicans or Indians, although they might attack one in the open day or night, would protect the same person should he happen to be a guest in adobe home or tepee. One needed to fear

for neither person nor property so long as he was within the walls of a Mexican or Indian home as a guest. Mahlon Collins and his companion adopted the plan of reaching Mexican settlements or "plazas" each night, instead of camping in the open. This protected them but did not avoid some scares before they thoroughly understood their hosts. Thus the two men reached the settlement of San Luis. Mahlon's companion left him at this place, and Mahlon proceeded alone with Santa Fe as his next objective, pausing at Taos while en route.

Before reaching the latter place he remained with some Mexicans one night. All appeared well until the moment of departure in the morning, when the host suddenly sprang to his feet and drew a butcher knife from his belt. There was nothing reassuring in the move, for this man had a saturnine cast of countenance while his face was in repose. But Mahlon need not have worried; real villains seldom look the part. The man dashed out the door ahead of Mahlon, went to the carcass of a sheep hanging in the shelter of the porch, quickly cut off a ham, and presented it to his guest for food on the trail.

Near Taos, Mahlon was entertained one night by a Pueblo Indian in his part of the community house. During the evening Mahlon was lying on the dirt floor, resting from his day's tramp, when the Indian suddenly sprang upon him placing one knee on his chest, and drawing a war arrow to the head as he held it pointed down at the white man's breast. The Indian looked sternly, fixedly into the other man's eyes as he threatened. Mahlon felt his last moment had arrived, but knowing he was helpless, he decided to take what would come with calm bearing. Some minutes passed as the two men looked at each other. The white man lay passive, did not flinch or speak. The end of the tableau came as suddenly as its start. Springing to his feet, the

Indian threw down his bow and arrow as he broke into an approving grin. He then signified approval of the other's bravery.

When he reached Taos Mahlon looked for the home of Kit Carson. At that time Carson was acting as government agent over the Indians of the Southwest, and he lived, as befitted the great Indian fighter and scout, in a collection of adobe houses or rooms placed in a square surrounding a central patio, through which ran a small stream of water. The arrangement was for defense in the event of attack or siege. The scout was at home and invited Mahlon to remain with him as long as he wished. This invitation Mahlon accepted for several days.

With the skill of a born administrator, Kit Carson here attended to his multitudinous duties as government representative. Delegations of Indians from near and distant points, Mexicans, frontiersmen, soldiers, all made this their headquarters. They were going and coming all the day, and filled the patio at night. Mahlon absorbed much of the atmosphere and took his first lessons in Spanish, the universally spoken language, while tarrying there. That the noted scout learned to regard Mahlon with respect was evidenced when the latter left. Carson asked him to make that his stopping place whenever passing. Mahlon left with Santa Fe as his next scheduled stop, finally arrived there, and sought employment.

He soon found work in the trading house of a man named Hovey, who afterwards won the title of colonel in the service of the Confederacy. He took Mahlon Collins into his service as clerk, paying him \$5.00 per day. This arrangement existed all the year 1861.

While he was working for Hovey, Mahlon lived with a family whose home was some distance from the store. Conditions were unsettled, the native Mexicans were antago-

nistic to American rule, and to Americans as individuals. Assassinations were frequent — the knife a favorite means, dark streets the places. Mahlon soon acquired the habit of walking in the middle of the street while on his way to or from work, day or night.

Hovey learned to think well of Mahlon Collins and finally offered financial backing to the young man with which to start a business of his own. Mahlon gladly accepted. A wagon train was sent east along the Santa Fe Trail headed for St. Louis, Missouri, for the purpose of acquiring goods for the new enterprise. This wagon train did not return. A courier reached Santa Fe about the first of the year, 1862, with news: the wagon train had been confiscated by the Federal government after it had reached Missouri. The Civil War had begun, and measures for protection of the government were being enforced.

With this opportunity for going into business lost, Mahlon Collins became restless as all able-bodied men were at that time, and decided to leave Santa Fe and return to his home in Iowa. There he could confer with his family while deciding on his own course in connection with enlistment. Ed Anderson, another young man who had entered Hovey's employ with Mahlon, also wished to go home before enlisting, so the two decided to travel back to Iowa together.

Each man equipped himself with a minimum of gear for traveling through wild country. Mahlon fitted himself completely with buckskin clothing and several pairs of moccasins. In a money belt he carried several hundred dollars in gold coin, savings from the year's earnings. He also carried a rifle, knife, ammunition, and a small amount of flour. A blanket for bed made the pack which held the flour sack. A prospector's pan furnished the only cooking utensil.

Mahlon's trip back to Iowa was, to use his own expression, "the ebb of the tide in his pioneering experiences". Setting out on the first lap of their journey, the two men worked back over the same course Mahlon had followed the year previous. They subsisted on the country by shooting game. The average progress was between twenty-five and thirty miles per day. It is doubtful if any present day expert in camping out can surpass the actual methods used by those old time frontiersmen. Finding a suitable place for a night camp near wood and water, the men selected a convenient flat rock and built a fire upon it. While the wood was burning down to a good bed of coals, the outdoor cook mixed flour and water into a dough with a pinch of saleratus. Raking the live coals to one side, dusting off the hot rock with a balsam brush, he placed the dough where the fire had been, covered it with the prospector's pan, and raked the live coals over this. While the bread was baking, strips of meat were skewered on sticks, to be broiled over the coals which were baking the bread. One pan and one knife constituted the total cooking and dining equipment. The two men soon reached Taos and Mahlon again met Kit Carson in his home. Of course Ed was included among the guests entertained by the great scout.

The two men did not tarry at Taos as long as Mahlon had done the previous year, but took up their trip northward in a few days. While they were tramping across the Hondo land grant they were overtaken by night while yet in a deep canyon. They camped close to a stream where the trail lay without much room to spare between water and cliff wall. The meal was quickly dispatched, and the two were soon in deep slumber. The night passed without incident. They rose early in the morning, cooked and ate a meal, and were on their way when the morning sun bathed the peaks about them.

Just as they noted the trail disappear around a high canyon wall ahead there came the sound of an owl, "Who-who-who-who". "Yip-yip-yip-yip-yip" came the answering cry of a coyote. Mahlon grasped Ed by the arm, motioned for silence, and whispered, "No owl or coyote makes cries at this hour of the morning. Something is wrong." Mahlon directed their steps back along the canyon trail until they found a place where they could scale the mountainside. The two men worked upward and ahead until they could look down upon the trail, and on either side of the cliff they had been approaching. There they saw eight or ten Apaches concealing themselves behind rocks which hid them from the trail. The topknots of other Indians appeared from behind rocks on the opposite side. A real ambush had awaited the men.

Knowledge of the habits of birds and beasts, added to keen intuition possessed by Mahlon, prevented him and his companion from becoming victims of murderous Apaches in that far-off, lonely canyon. But they were not yet safe; the savages would soon realize what had happened and would be hunting their intended victims.

So Mahlon and Ed lost no time in scrambling higher up over the rocks. Finally they found cover in which they successfully hid all that day while their pursuers searched for them. In the darkness of the next night they pushed ahead and managed a complete escape from the savages.

About three days after eluding the Apaches, the young men came across an equipage fallen into an arroyo by the side of the trail. Close by stood a Catholic priest who explained that he was the owner of the vehicle and the animals in the bed of the dry stream. He had driven too close to the bank edge and it had caved in precipitating wagon and burros into a pit whence they had need to be assisted. The priest was on the point of abandoning his property in

despair and proceeding without them, when Mahlon and Ed appeared. The three men set to work with a will, dug an inclined path up the bank, and finally had vehicle, animals, and goods back on the trail. From that point forward the three men traveled together for Denver.

When they reached the high altitude of La Veta Pass there was snow to struggle through as there had been when Mahlon had gone south over a year previous. His companions followed his leadership, however, and they won through to the valley of the Huerfano, which they followed to Pueblo.

As they traveled north over the divide from Pueblo and while yet a day's journey from Denver, they came upon a score of men bent on lynching a prisoner. What crime doomed this man to death we do not now know, but he was destined to swing into eternity by decree of Judge Lynch. Mahlon and his two companions joined the crowd and watched the proceedings until they learned more of what had happened. There seemed to be some hesitation on the part of the lynchers and this gave Mahlon Collins time to address the assemblage. He spoke of having heard that the Territory was organizing to deal with all crime with a court sitting in Denver and he urged that the men obey the law and turn the man over to constituted authority for trial. His speech won the day. The man was bound and put under guard until he was delivered to the sheriff in Denver when they arrived there the following day. Thus Mahlon Collins saved a man's life and won a victory for law and order in that wild country. This occurred early in February of 1862 and the event must have provided a case for one of the earliest courts of that future city. It also cast light on the early Quaker training of Mahlon.

The clerk of the court at Denver ordered Mahlon to stand up and "swear", for he was a witness. Mahlon refused,

and the clerk became angry. The order was repeated. Mahlon said, "I will only affirm on my honor, to tell the truth". The officer was on the point of arresting Mahlon for failure to do as he was told, when the judge ordered the clerk to accept the affirmation.

At Denver Mahlon was engaged as hunter for a wagon train headed east across the plains, and left the mountain metropolis soon after his arrival from Santa Fe. Acting as hunter and scout he set out on the tramp across to the Missouri River. There were adventures on the way.

On one occasion the chase of an antelope led Mahlon into difficulties. Having sighted a band of the animals, he crept toward them on hands and knees. They could be brought to a halt by waving a handkerchief, but seemed to know enough not to approach within rifle shot of the hunter. All day long, until mid-afternoon, the animals lured Mahlon, until he finally realized that he was far from water and desperate for it. Giving up the chase, he started for water. It was a long way off; there came hours of trudging in a hot sun while his lips became parched and cracked, and his tongue swelled his jaws apart. Under such conditions, one becomes distressed mentally and physically. Mahlon's stride changed to a slow, painful dragging of the feet. His will alone kept him on his course.

Dusk was spreading over the land when he reached the south bank of the Platte River. There he fell over the low bank into shallow water. For hours he lay in the water and soaked it into his pores. Gradually his fever subsided, his tongue resumed its normal size, and he could finish drinking his fill. Dragging himself across the width of the river flats onto the north bank, he lay for the balance of the night in the open. Although without breakfast he was able to proceed in search of his camp. After reaching there, he spent the balance of the day resting up, but the following

day saw this man so recuperated that he took his place as hunter and scout as the wagon train took up its eastward course. Thus he worked his way across to the Missouri River. There he parted with his friends and crossed the Big Muddy on floating cakes of ice.

Mrs. Peter Collins was living in Muscatine, Iowa, that year, and the young adventurer reached her place after a tramp across the lower tier of counties, relieved by some lifts by wagon. This was his first visit to his old home in some years, and mother and son spent several days together. Another trip by "shanks-mare" brought Mahlon diagonally across into the northwestern section of the State. The last stream before reaching home, the Upper Des Moines, was swollen with spring freshets, offering some obstacle to crossing, but it did not delay him long.

Mahlon found the same log dug-out he and Ben Williams had made and used some years previous. This boat was so narrow that a full grown man found himself tightly wedged in place. This was Mahlon's predicament at the start of that crossing, when he struck out for the farther shore with pack and gun helping to fill the boat. Cakes of ice and floating logs were dodged as he made his lone way across the rapid flood, but when he was almost within landing distance of the home shore, a log capsized the boat. Precipitated thus into cold water, Mahlon was forced to struggle for his life while floating head down below the surface of the water. There was a minute or two of desperate struggle before Mahlon kicked loose and was free to swim ashore. Dug-out, gun, and pack were lost for the time as he struggled ashore, and proceeded at his best pace for home. His clothes dried on him as he traveled afoot over the remaining miles.

In his home on Lotts Creek, he found his family which now included a daughter who had been born since he last

had seen his wife and his son Ralph. At this time Mahlon Day Collins was a man in his twenty-fifth year. He was in splendid health and hard as nails. Having tramped over two thousand miles, endured hardships, and suffered privations, he had returned to northwest Iowa where he now planned to make a home for his family on the frontier.

CHURCH WORK OF MAHLON COLLINS

Mahlon Collins reached home while the country was in the midst of the turmoil occasioned by the War of the Rebellion. The majority of the Lotts Creek settlers were then of Quaker persuasion and they did not approve of war, but their sympathies were on the Union side because of their anti-slavery tenets. The older members of the Collins and Williams families had been active members of "Underground Railroad" in Ohio and in Iowa, and a member of these families had never been known to refuse aid to any fugitives from slavery. There was much private discussion of duty in view of the struggle then starting. The older members were easy in their conscience while they refrained from active enlistment in the army, but some of the young men were becoming "modern" and debating whether they should join the army and do their part.

While Mahlon was yet in Santa Fe, his comrade, Ben Williams, had hurried home and enlisted in the Fifth Iowa Cavalry. In fact he was in the fighting around Fort Henry and Fort Donelson at the very time Mahlon reached Lotts Creek from Colorado. The latter was anxious to join his friend, yet he had much to think of before taking the step.

Sentiment and love of adventure combined to make him want to enlist. On the other hand, the new home needed attention before he left. The older folks begged him to remain loyal to the teachings of Fox. Uncertain as to the

right course to pursue in the face of these arguments, Mahlon proceeded to break sod, plant crops, and fence them in.

The spring of 1862 was one of privation for the settlers on Lotts Creek. Few had raised crops the year before and there was not enough grain for grinding into flour for their needs. They had to freight in from Fort Des Moines and prices rose until they were compelled to pay as high as ten cents per pound for flour. Luxuries such as coffee were entirely out of reach. A substitute was made from bread soaked in sorghum molasses and toasted. One settler set up a sorghum mill on the creek and there was enough of this to go around by fall. It was the substitute for sugar. Game was plentiful and formed the principal article of diet.

No frontier community was ever organized long before the old time itinerant minister visited them. So it was that meetings were held around at various homes during the summer of 1862, and a Methodist preacher held forth at Hands settlement. He was a typical revivalist; every week must see concerted effort of brethren to bring sinners into the fold. Mahlon Collins and his wife attended these meetings and professed conversion. These two had always been devout believers in God, followers of the teachings of Jesus Christ. This conversion meant more than mere adhesion to the teachings of Wesley, in preference to those of Fox; it was the consecration of their lives to the work of one church. Earnest young people they were, and a consecration meant literally "We give all our time, substance, and our lives to the work of our Master". How well this was followed will reveal itself in the balance of this story.

THE CIRCUIT RIDER

Mahlon D. Collins was immediately licensed as an exhorter of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Fort

Dodge District, Upper Iowa Conference. He served two years as an exhorter while he studied for the ministry, living at home the while and improving his 160 acre farm and otherwise providing for his family. His first exhorter's license was signed by D. B. Billings, preacher in charge at Algona.

Collins had unbounded ambition and energy, for while studying for the ministry, he also sought for and secured a license to teach in the public schools of Kossuth County in the fall of 1862. P. C. Taylor, county superintendent of schools, signed his certificate on November 29th of that year. Collins taught "the young idea how to shoot", studied theology, preached somewhere every Sunday, attended meetings during the week, and took care of crop gathering and feeding stock all the winter through.

Another year he taught school and followed the same general routine. He had passed to the rank of local preacher in the same conference, receiving his appointment from J. B. Taylor, the presiding elder, on August 13, 1863. His father-in-law, Dearman Williams, was at this time superintendent of schools, and signed Mahlon's certificate on November 27, 1863.

Preaching, holding class meetings, directing prayer services on a circuit which increased from week to week, teaching school during the winters, and attending his farm made full schedules for those first two years of novitiate in the Methodist ministry. He used the family horse to aid in covering all points of his frontier circuit. Not once did he cease studying for the yearly examinations at conference.

The yearly conference met at Clarinda in Page County in the fall of 1864. There Mahlon Collins was admitted to the Des Moines Conference on trial. This conference came into being at that time, thus making Mahlon a charter member and automatically transferring him from the Upper

Iowa Conference. His appointment came on September 3, 1864, and with this he felt he could give up the teaching which he had been doing to aid in the support of his family, and rely on the support of the church. Often this did not amount to more than a total of \$200 per year, part cash, mostly food and provender for his family and stock.

At the time of his acceptance into the ministry came his drafting into the Union Army. Before taking up his ministerial duties, he hurried across the State by team from Clarinda to Fort Dodge and reported to the officials there. On examination he was found physically fit and stepped into line with every intention of signing the Articles of War. The man in front of Mahlon signed and the officer in charge announced, "Quota filled". Collins immediately received an honorable discharge from military duty, dated September 29, 1864.

Returning home to his family on Lotts Creek free from military duty, with the appointment from his bishop, Mahlon Collins took position on the "firing line" of his church. Loading up a light wagon with a few articles of bedding, and placing his wife and three children in it, he left home. Indeed that was the last real home of his own. He never returned to it as such and parted ownership with it in a few years, as we shall note. Driving across the virgin prairies of upper Iowa, he took his family 150 miles to the small settlement of Denison.

There was neither church building nor parsonage to greet him. Morris McHenry and H. C. Laub⁵ were his active supporters in Denison and their homes were always those of Mahlon Collins and his family whenever they afterwards returned there. Preaching services were first held in a schoolhouse and later in a courthouse which was built in

⁵ A daughter of H. C. Laub later married Leslie M. Shaw, Secretary of the Treasury under President Roosevelt.

1865. The Chicago and Northwestern Railway was graded through the town that year, and the place was filled with Irish "Paddys". There were frequent fights between "Railroaders" and "Townners". These disturbances sometimes invaded church services and were kept out only by the courage and resourcefulness of this pioneer preacher and his able assistants. One story will illustrate conditions.

After the courthouse had been built at Denison, the Methodists secured its use for services. The Reverend Collins preached from the judge's desk and the "Bar of Justice" became the "Altar Rail". Almost every service of that day witnessed "Works of Grace"; no hungry souls went away without opportunity being offered them to "repent of their sins and become saved".

The town was well filled with men, most of whom we would now class as "roughnecks", and there were some happenings not laid down in the discipline. Such was the case when Reverend Collins turned a Sunday evening meeting into a combined "experience and praise service". Naturally, this was followed by invitations for sinners to "throw themselves upon the mercy of the Lord". "Experiences", songs of exaltation and praise, followed one another in continuous succession. In the midst of the excitement which always resulted, while mourners "wrestled with the Lord", and shouts and Hallelujahs filled the air, a group of railroaders tiptoed in and arrayed themselves in a line against the rear wall of the room. They comprised some of the railroad toughs led by a burly man who held authority over men by physical prowess. These men gazed upon the scene before them with ill-concealed contempt, and growled words of derision. The timorous members of the congregation showed alarm which soon became evident to Collins.

To quiet the fear of some of the audience the preacher started the congregation singing a favorite song of praise and then stepped from behind his rostrum and started to move among the assembled worshippers. Whenever a song ran out the leader started another. Here and there he moved, taking no apparent notice of the row of men at the back, but his zig-zag course led him toward the rear of the room.

Collins reached a position in front of and beside the leering bully just as he sang the last words of a hymn. His habit of singing under such conditions was to throw his head well back and close his eyes. With a grin on his face the rowdy leader had been watching the seemingly somnolent singer as he drew near.

At that moment, Mahlon Collins opened his eyes, reached out, and threw both arms about the surprised man pinioning the man's arms to his side. With this movement came a blow on the back of the knees which brought both to the floor in a most approved Methodist attitude. Collins had surprised his opponent and was able to hold him on the floor as he shouted, "Pray for us, Brother McHenry". Brother McHenry obeyed. Always "powerful in prayer", McHenry presented that sinner to their maker in no choice phrases, and strongly recommended him to pardon. The man struggled, but had met his match in the frontier preacher, who held his man fast and aided the praying brother with shouts of "Amen" and "Praise God". The would-be trouble maker afterwards became a member of the congregation.

On that frontier of civilization the church needed to fight the Devil with his own weapons. The old timer who enlisted in the fight had his work cut out for him. Iowa of this day owes much to the men who fought for right and decency in that early day. The experience of Mahlon Col-

lins at Denison was not the last of such work for him. Neither was he the only preacher who had such experiences. But this incident at Denison no doubt influenced Mahlon Collins in a decision which he made two or three years later, and thereby hangs another tale.

The Reverend John W. Snodgrass had joined the ministry in 1843 while in Illinois, came to Iowa, and became a charter member of the Des Moines Conference. He was a large framed, exceedingly muscular man, a Peter Cartwright type, serving the church in that day. As with the more noted man, Snodgrass was outspoken in denunciation of evil, brave, generous, self-sacrificing. He was holding a series of "protracted meetings" one winter in a schoolhouse near Missouri Valley. The rough element of the community did not relish the verbal lashings Snodgrass was handing them, and this sentiment became united under a leader reputed to be the toughest man thereabouts. He decided to "lick" this preacher before his congregation and put him in his place. Having no doubt of his ability, the man essayed the feat.

At the close of an evening service at which Snodgrass had unmercifully flayed the cohorts of the Devil, members of the congregation came to him in a panic and warned him of imminent danger to his person. A commotion could be heard outside. Shouts and curses reached the ears of those inside. The "bully" was outside declaring, "I have come to give that preacher the licking of his life". The man had his gang with him, all fortified with "forty-rod". Timorous parishioners begged Snodgrass to remain inside until the man departed.

Snodgrass did not wait. After attending to a few details of the next day's meeting, he pushed his friends aside and stepped from the door of the schoolhouse. There he found partisans and enemies grouped in two solid rows facing

each other and bordering a path leading to the preacher's chief opponent. This man stood in the bright moonlight, coat off, arms waving in a threatening manner, shouting curses of defiance.

Aside from the roaring of this man at the head of the lane, dead silence prevailed as the preacher walked forward. Looking straight at his opponent, speaking no word, Snodgrass stepped up to his man. As they met, Snodgrass quickly reached out and grasped the man by the shoulders in a vise-like grip. The power of the preacher became evident in an instant. He raised his man bodily from his feet and threw him backward with such force that the man's feet flew into the air and he struck heavily on his shoulders. The man lay groaning and only partly conscious. Snodgrass walked onward and never looked back as he proceeded to his home. The friends of the fallen warrior looked their champion over and found both collar bones broken by the manhandling he had received. A thoroughly cowed, beaten man was borne groaning away to a sick bed which he occupied for several weeks. There is no record of this man's having joined the church, nor of his having attacked a preacher again.

The matter did not rest there. Some members of the congregation thought the preacher had been too rough with the man and they managed to have charges preferred, alleging "conduct unbecoming a minister of the Gospel". The indictment was brought during the fall conference and the bishop appointed a committee to try Snodgrass. Reverend Mahlon Day Collins was chairman of the trial committee and no doubt recalled his own experiences. All evidence was received, after which the committee deliberated and reported. The spokesman said, "We find the brother was compelled to argue with a man. He set the fellow down on the wrong end. That is all". "Charges

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against brother Snodgrass are dismissed", decided the bishop. The "tough guys" soon reformed or ceased to be tough around the "gentle dominies" and John W. Snodgrass continued his work to the age of retirement.

This story was later confirmed by an eye witness. During the eighties the writer was working for a Mr. William Henry Wilder on his ranch in Colorado. Bill had roughed it and was a typical frontiersman. He never professed adherence to any creed, but it was evident that he admired muscular Christianity. He had been among the spectators lining the path which guided the Reverend Snodgrass to his foe on the night in question and he repeated the story one evening as an incident to his trip from "the States" across the plains after the Civil War. With gusto he told how the preacher had bested the bully. He closed his account of the happening with the words, "That preacher sure did knock Hell out of that fellow".

Mahlon Collins rode circuit to outlying districts while he resided at Denison. At this time Denison was still the rail head outpost and supplies were freighted by wagon from there to Sioux City. The tide of settlers flowed into this newer region and their spiritual needs must be supplied, so in 1866 Collins went out from Denison beyond the railroad and served new centers named Onawa and Smithland.

As it had been at Denison there were, in these new places, no church buildings or parsonages for his use. Other settlements opened up and he soon was preaching regularly at the above places and at Correctionville, Moingona, Barker's Landing, and Floyd's Creek.

His circuit was now 200 miles in extent. He covered this whole circuit on horseback or by wagon in summer, and on runners in the winter, until the fall conference of 1866, when six ministers were assigned to the work one man had started and carried forward.

During the conference year of 1867-1868, Mahlon Collins was stationed at New Jefferson — now Jefferson, Iowa — in a new country served by a newly built railroad. He also was covering much territory, the eastern border of which ended in a settlement named Collins Chapel, now known as Collins, Iowa. At this point there seemed urgent need for a house of worship to hold the new congregation. The people were poor but furnished what aid they could in personal service. Before the edifice was well under way, Collins realized there would not be enough money to pay for it. Conferring with his wife, they decided to raise the money personally by the sale of their land at Lotts Creek. Their home was sold, and all the money went toward building the chapel named after them. In this way, Mahlon Day Collins and his wife literally gave their all for the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the State of Iowa. In this manner his name is perpetuated at the scene of some of the pioneer struggles for his Master.

The fall of 1869 found the Reverend Collins transferred to Boonesboro, Iowa, where he resided for several years. Here he rented a house for his family. From Boonesboro he rode circuit during the years 1869-1871.

The first year of his pastoral work had been accomplished with the aid of one horse he brought with him from the home on Lotts Creek. Having no permanent home for his family, he soon saw the need of taking them with him on the circuits. He later traded his one horse with some added cash for a team and carriage. The team was composed of one iron grey, a long-legged, big-boned, steady animal, paired with a small, tough, morgan-red, fiery-eyed beast. The large one answered to the name of Robin, the smaller was called Star. These two are famous in Collins family legend.

Robin and Star carried the Collins family thousands of

miles over roads, across trackless areas of Iowa prairies, through summer's sunshine and rain and winter's icy blasts. They drew a two-seated surrey in summer. A bobsled was the winter vehicle. In these the circuit rider carried his family from place to place through every kind of weather, fording streams where bridges did not exist.

The extremes of summer weather and winter's storms imposed many hardships upon this family. Many trips were undertaken in the midst of storms. At such times during the winter, the wife and children were hidden under blankets and buffalo robes, and the man faced the elements with Robin and Star. The road must be broken through snow drifts by the man tramping the way. The family traveled thus for the greater portion of six years.

There was no complaint. They proceeded with cheerful hearts to the work of their Master. Optimism was the spirit of the frontier. America was awakening to its great destiny. The only time when the road seemed heavy was when death lay in the path.

The Angel of Death took Mary, a child of two years, at Denison. Again the grim reaper visited the family at Jefferson and took a baby daughter — Edith. These two died from hardship imposed by the life of the family. Lillian and Stella died after reaching Boonesboro in a scarlet fever epidemic. Mahlon Day Collins was always a loving father and these deaths saddened him exceedingly, but they did not halt his work for the church. During those days of hardship and trial, he never missed an appointment if it were humanly possible to keep it. He forced himself into all kinds of weather, and if the family could not be left behind, they suffered with him.

Entering the ministry in that early day entailed responsibility, even more than now, by reason of difficulty in pursuing the needed studies, for there was no school and there

was a growing family to support. Mahlon Collins met and conquered the problem with innate energy backed by perseverance and a devout consecration to the work. It was a day of literal interpretations of the "Voice of God". One felt a definite "call", answering which, one dedicated oneself and all he possessed to the service. The record of Mahlon Collins from the first day of his ministry to the time of his death reveals that he lived according to that belief.

Along with all his labors, he managed to study a regular course from year to year, which advanced him in accomplishment to the highest offices within the organization of his conference. Starting with extemporaneous discourses, he soon worked into regular sermons. He thought these out and made mental notes as he traveled from one appointment to another. His son Ralph started driving Robin and Star when he was a lad of less than ten years. As they journeyed the father would study and jot down notes. After locating in his own house at Boonesboro, Collins was able to give sermons still further thought as to proper delivery and effective oratory. Real study was a lifelong practice.

Collins often held four quarterly meetings a week, and never let a like period go by without starting a revival meeting, to be carried on by others until he could return. His preaching became popular; so much so that there is record of great gatherings attending his meetings. More than once, the sheriff and deputies were called upon to control crowds at meetings addressed by the Reverend Collins. Summer revivals and camp meetings were occasions of great gatherings, even greater than winter meetings.

Camp meetings were held in some convenient grove, often situated on a river bank or a lake shore. Some off season, such as the period between planting and harvest, was the

time given to such meetings, which were a source of inspiration to some, while others found entertainment in meeting neighbors and receiving news of each other.

At such meetings, evening services often filled the week until Sunday, which was entirely taken up with services, starting at sunrise, and ending with one at midnight.

Saturday afternoon and evening witnessed the greatest gathering of those who were from a distance and who intended to stay over to attend the Sunday services. Whole families arrived in wagons, and either brought a tent or slept in the open. Many spent the nights in their wagons or lying beneath them on the ground. Others came on horseback or afoot. These were often entertained by brothers on the scene, literally — on the ground.

Interest centered on the evening meetings, scenes of solemnity as the congregation assembled in the open and seated themselves on rough benches, made on the spot. A rough bench in front of the clergy was vacant until "mourners" were brought forward. This also served as an altar rail. There, in the open, one heard the whispering of wind in the leaves, followed by crackling sounds from sputtering fires of fagots lighting the whole space. A feeling of subdued excitement permeated all who took part.

After the announcements, services were opened by the officiating clergyman, or he sometimes called upon a brother in the Lord who was powerful in prayer. Prayer was followed by singing two or three hymns. Then would come the sermon, which closed with a call on sinners to repent. Prayers, songs, and exhortations interspersed the work with those who signified willingness to lead a better life.

During the sermons one heard frequent, fervent "Amens", "Hallelujahs", "Praise Gods", and other words of approbation, signs of exaltation. With the opening of the after meeting came more frequent shouts min-

gled with vociferous rendition of gospel songs. When a sinner stood up and thereby signified conversion, the welkin rang with a bedlam of shouts by brothers and sisters. Some rose up to shout, others sat still and cried. Many other sounds of religious fervor increased the excitement.

The frontier harbored many rough characters, others were simply severe in thought due to the hard life they led. The Methodists seemed to have a system which was efficacious in bringing the diverse elements into line, and performed a large share of winning the rank and file over to law abiding citizenship.

Mahlon Collins had roughed it before he entered the ministry, had met all sorts and conditions afterwards, and was instrumental in winning hundreds over to right living by his example and sincerity. The meetings of that early day of which we can have but faint idea were crude, lacking in culture if you will, but when we contemplate the evidence that this man's work won to his side many who afterwards held high position in the government of the State and nation, we must admit "the end justified the means". His brothers in the ministry were doing the same, and we award them honor as a body of efficient workers.

In that day of fundamentalism, some individuals had odd ideas of literal translations of the Holy Word. While Mahlon Collins always gave unquestioning allegiance to his faith, he leavened translation with common sense. That this is true is illustrated by a story he told of a happening at one of the old time camp meetings.

A zealous, devout brother had signified his intention of entering the ministry, provided "the Lord called him". The wish for the call was ever present in his mind. There was no question of his receptive mood, but there must be no doubt of it. The brother was woefully illiterate, but his ardor was of the highest.

This man was present at the meeting and filled all his prayers with earnest supplications for "the call". As was the custom, he often went into the surrounding woods alone to "wrassle with the Lord in prayer". The brother was known to be thus occupied one morning and as the others were sitting down to breakfast, he came rushing wildly into camp, waving his arms and giving exultant shouts.

"I've got it", he cried. "I've got it, brothers and sisters. I have the call. I went into the woods this morning and knelt down to pray. I said, 'Oh Lord, you know I want to work for you in your vineyard, I am waiting for the call. Call me, Lord, call me in an audible voice'. And he did, brothers and sisters. The Lord be praised. He said, 'G-o-o-p-r-e-a-c-h, g-o-o-p-r-e-a-c-h, g-o-o-preach, g-o-o-preach, go-preach, e-h-a-w, e-h-a-w, e-h-a-w, e-h-a-w'." It seemed that a mule carried "The Voice of the Lord".

Another story told by Mahlon Collins shows that he recognized that all human beings are weak in spirit, liable to "slips from Grace". One of his deacons living on an isolated farm with his family was the subject of this tale. His home was a typical farmhouse of early Iowa, a shelter, a place to sleep. One day he needed a gimlet for use on some job. He had one about the house somewhere.

It was near the noon hour and the wife was preparing dinner. The man hunted high and low for the gimlet. He did not find it and blamed everyone but himself for mislaying it. As it happened, he had been using the needed tool on the ceiling of the dining room at another time, and had left it sticking there in plain sight if any one should look toward it. He looked everywhere but in the right direction, growing angrier all the while. Finally his wife said, "Come, John. Dinner is ready. Sit down and eat, and no doubt we will find the gimlet afterward." John walked to the table with heavy stride, yanked a chair into

place, and slumped down with his feet under the table. He always asked a blessing at such times, and as he slid into the chair he put his hands before him with finger tips joined in suppliant attitude, cast a glance upward, then half rose from his seat, and, pointing, exclaimed, "There's that damned gimlet."

In pursuit of his duties during the year 1867, Mahlon Collins met with a mishap which nearly proved fatal, a severe injury which only a life in the open aided him to withstand.

He set out one summer day with his wife and daughter Lillian to reach an appointment. They rode in a two-seated surrey. Robin and Star were in fine fettle, and drew the party over the prairies at a merry pace. The appointment was filled, after which the party set out on the return journey.

When they reached a gully where the trail led down a steep declivity to water and as steeply ascended the other side, disaster overtook them. The carriage lurched over an obstruction with force enough to break the supporting straps which held the tongue of the surrey in place. The tongue dropped to the ground, allowing the carriage to bump into the team, prodding them into a gallop on the down grade. This left the driver holding the reins as the only means of keeping the carriage in control. He braced himself against the dash-board and kept the vehicle moving with the now frightened team. Down to the water, through it, and up the incline they went at full speed.

When they reached the top of the incline and were on the level again, the tongue, with the front end scraping the ground, struck a stump in the road. The momentum was so great, that the tongue doubled up like a jack knife and broke its fastenings from the carriage. The rear end of the tongue, freed from restraint and carrying the double-tree,

flew upward and backward and caught the driver full in the face. The terrific impact flung him high in the air and to the ground, as it also cut away the buggy top over Mrs. Collins and Lillian, as clean as a scythe could do.

The carriage came to a stop without injury to the other occupants and Mrs. Collins and Lillian hastily ran to the husband and father. He lay by the road with his face apparently torn away, covered with blood, a terrifying sight. He was carried senseless to the nearest house, where he lay for days before he regained consciousness. His lower jaw had been broken in several places, the upper was minus an inch of bone, and the flesh was in shreds.

Within six weeks from the date of his accident, the Reverend Collins was out and conducting services again, although he never fully recovered from that accident, for his face healed with the lower jaw out of line.

A piece of bone also obstructed his nostrils and afforded Collins a means of amusement. He discovered that by holding one nostril and blowing through the other past the bone obstruction, a peculiar sound could be made. Among his people in social gatherings this was often his contribution to the round of gayety. He sometimes embarrassed his wife when he had received from the family wash a handkerchief which contained a hole too generous for public display, by placing the remnants over his nose, reaching through the aperture, grasping the nostrils, and giving a tremendous blast, thus drawing attention to the defective handkerchief. In this way he turned calamity into a source of fun.

THE PRESIDING ELDER

After filling the Boonesboro circuit for three years and being in the town pastorate the two following years, making five full years of service, Mahlon Day Collins was appointed presiding elder in charge of the Boone District.

Thus in a comparatively short time his energy and faithfulness for and to the Methodist Episcopal Church was rewarded by the greater responsibility. He had reached the age of thirty-four.

While performing his new duties during the years of 1872-1875, he exceeded previous records of energetic pastoral work. His district was large and required his attendance at, and supervision over, four quarterly conferences per year on each separate charge. As new appointments were made, it was his duty to cover them and induct new pastors into the work. He was called upon to preach every week day, as well as twice on Sundays. During those years he was never home with his family more than a day at a time.

In the fall of 1876, the death of the Reverend John H. Swope, presiding elder of the Des Moines District, was reported at conference. His death left a destitute, dependent family. The bishop in charge conferred with Reverend Collins and found him ready to assume additional duties. If he could cover the Des Moines District in addition to the one at Boone, the Reverend Swope's salary could be saved for his family. This was agreed upon between them, and during the conference year of 1876-1877, Mahlon Collins covered two conference districts for the sake of providing his dead brother's family with the means of existence until they could get on their feet.

Thus he exerted almost super-human efforts while covering the two districts, one of which was enough for any man. He closed the year with a record of having preached 375 sermons. Needless to say, he was not at home much that year.

Railroads were now an aid to the busy man while covering so much ground. Robin and Star had been left behind at Boonesboro when the family moved to Des Moines in the

fall of 1876. Still having use for a horse, a new one was procured and became the pet of the Collins children. This was a large, gentle bay, named Deck.

One night horse thieves visited the home and took away the family pet. The head of the house returned the very next morning, heard the story, and listened to the pleadings of his children, "Please go and find Deck". This frontier preacher laid aside his duties for the moment, armed himself with his old hunting rifle, and set out on the trail of the thieves.

He had not been absent from his house long before Bishop Andrews rang the bell and inquired for his presiding elder. The writer, then a child of five, answered the bell. To the stranger's inquiry I replied by informing him that father was not at home. Then feeling that the situation would be cleared by an explanation, I volunteered the following, "Papa has gone away with a gun to shoot a man". The bishop seemed satisfied and left me at the door, but father did not hear the last of that affair for many years. Bishop Andrews soon told the story among the brethren, and father was frequently met with such greetings as, "You are the preacher who shoots men?" or "Did you get your man?"

He did not recover his property or meet the thieves, but the horse returned of its own accord a few days later, evidently having been turned loose after serving as the means of a "getaway".

The eldest child of the Reverend Collins, the son Ralph, had entered Simpson College at Indianola. In order to provide this son a home while attending school, the family moved to the college town and lived there during the conference year of 1878-1879. The youngest of the nine children in the Collins family, Roy, born on May 22, 1879, made his advent into the world during that year at Indianola.

BACK TO THE PASTORATE

Mahlon Collins requested and was granted the privilege of returning to a charge again in September, 1879. He reported for duty in charge of Broadway Church, Council Bluffs, Iowa. For the first time on a charge, he found a substantial brick building to house his congregation, but Iowa still had frontier conditions. The practical brand of Christian living, ever his forte, was in evidence during the two years he was in the Bluffs.

Needless to say, Mahlon Collins was an absolute, unqualified exponent of prohibition as it applied to the saloon, and fought "Demon Rum" at every opportunity. Yet he was willing to acknowledge that saloon keepers were human and worthy of just treatment. His influence with this class of business men was evident before he left Council Bluffs. He went to them for money to purchase a needed organ for the church, after he had found his membership too poor to raise it. While soliciting these funds, he found a poor German emigrant driver of a brewery wagon who understood music and could sing. The Sunday School needed a music teacher to lead them and Reverend Collins arranged with this man to teach music and lead the singing in his Sunday School. The preacher even arranged with the employers to allow the man to perform this service. They coöperated by allowing the driver to make his rounds of the saloons in time for him to clean up for church duties. Neither the dominie nor the German thought this arrangement out of order. One saw the need, the other most willingly obliged. Due to the influence of Mahlon Collins, two of the saloon keepers at Council Bluffs sold out and entered other lines of work.

One year while M. D. Collins lived at Council Bluffs, Memorial Day came on Sunday. The committee on arrangements experienced trouble in obtaining the promise of

some minister to lead them in prayer at services to be held in a nearby grove. Praying for G. A. R. members on a Sunday was a problem for the ministers. Reverend Collins was out of town at the time; the others refused to act. On Saturday afternoon the committee was still seeking some one to grace the occasion. Feeling quite desperate by that time, the committee awaited the arrival of Reverend Collins. To their great relief he said, "Certainly I will be glad to go with you and pray for you". He added, "I will bring my congregation along".

He at once called on some of the elders and arrangements were made as he wished. The whole congregation, which included the Sunday School with Superintendent Colonel Tulleys and the German song leader, fell into line and marched with the veterans. At the grove, the Reverend Collins prayed, and his children led the singing. In thus rendering service where it was needed, he augmented rather than diminished interest among his workers. He received an engrossed set of resolutions from the G. A. R. Post, thanking him for the timely service.

From this point forward it can be said, this pioneer preacher of the West began to reap the benefits of civilization in connection with his work. Towns had sprung up everywhere in place of the virgin wilderness of a few years before. Railroads now crisscrossed the area in every direction. Where once he built his church buildings, he now found established congregations with their houses of worship already built. In place of spending each week day and Sunday away from home, he could now remain with his family during the weeks and months he served in one place. His sojourn on one charge could be extended to three years of time, whereas he had been sure of change of location every year at the start of his itinerancy. All these facts combined to make him happy when he moved to Council

Bluffs, and the satisfaction was growing when he moved to Corning in the fall of 1881.

He found an active membership at Corning led by such men as Lew F. Darrow, D. S. Sigler, C. T. Cole, L. M. Mann, O. J. King, Ralph Newcomb, O. A. Pease, Chas. R. Miller, and others who served on his board of trustees and as stewards. The building was a small frame structure grown much too small for the growing congregation. Collins personally drew plans for, and superintended the construction of, an addition to the building, increasing the floor area about one-third.

Iowa communities of that day were largely made up of people who were self-reliant and law-abiding, with an intense desire for learning which transcended the wish for material advancement, while not decrying the latter. Many became wealthy in later years, and others who once lived in Iowa, or who still reside there found fame in many parts of the world. Every community fostered literary and musical learning and effort. The citizens of Corning of that day were interested in such worth while accomplishment and the Reverend Collins assumed his share of such endeavors.

Of the Methodist membership at Corning, D. S. Sigler and Lew E. Darrow were both prominent in banking circles. L. M. Mann was in the grocery business there but afterwards became the foremost real estate operator in Des Moines where he was again in Collins's congregation at Wesley Church. He conceived, fostered, and carried through many worthy developments in the capital city during the middle '80s and later.

C. T. Cole and his wife, Carrie, were members of the Methodist congregation at Corning. They entertained the minister's children when they moved from Council Bluffs and before they were settled in the new home. Charlie Cole became a playmate of the writer of these lines. The daugh-

ter of this couple, Harriet Elizabeth (Hattie), was then just graduating from the children's class of the Sunday School. She afterwards married Horace Mann Towner, who for many years was Governor General of Porto Rico.

Towner was then a young attorney practising in Corning. He was not a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but he endeared himself to Mahlon Collins by his defense of a member of the congregation, in court by reason of the loose talk of a family of colored people there. Acquittal was a relief to the worthy man and eased the worry of his spiritual adviser who had stood loyally by.

Reverend M. D. Collins served his church three full years at Corning—the time limit for Methodist preachers of that period. His salary had increased to \$1,200, a marked advance over the \$200 of his first year. He took his family to Chariton in September, 1884.

At Chariton he found another congregation imbued with zeal for the church. It was housed in a substantial brick edifice which went with a story and half frame parsonage. This was the first parsonage in the experience of the Collins family. It nestled in the enclosure next the larger building, surrounded by sugar maples and a fruit orchard. The inhabitants of the community were typical Iowans. There were not many rich according to the standards to-day, nor were there any poor to the extent of need or dependence. The Methodist preacher felt affluent in comparison with pioneer days, even if his salary did not keep pace with the needs of a growing family.

The leading members of the Methodist Church here were such men as O. A. Bartholomew, J. Lee Brown, L. A. Brown, John W. Cully, M. D., D. Eikenberry, W. C. Penick, F. H. Reeves, E. M. Waynick, and W. R. Yost. Among others, we mention Miss Willa Walker who fostered art and brought to Chariton Miss Delano, a teacher. Not least

among the ladies was Miss Mary Ann Baxter, the typical country village first-aid in every emergency.

Church affairs continued at even tenor during the pastorate of the Reverend Collins at Chariton. Life in the parsonage, however, had its amusements.

It is presumed that the officiating clergyman at all weddings always receives some honorarium for his share of the service. The children of the parsonage soon learned this, and rejoiced at news of every wedding to be. They knew there would be some extra treat afterwards. Thus it was that anticipation ran high one evening when four colored couples appeared unannounced at the parsonage next the Methodist Church in Chariton. A retinue of friends accompanied them, and the crowd was ushered into the tiny dwelling where they overflowed the parlor and dining room.

The minister's family were overjoyed when a spokesman announced that eight of the party intended to be joined in matrimony. The family crowded about listening to the speaker as he declaimed and recited the good qualities of his friends, and the eminent fitness of each for entering the sacred state of matrimony. While father was examining credentials of the contracting parties, this spokesman entertained one and all in a manner of his own.

He had enormous lips and a large mouth, his forehead was low and sloped downward to the brows. Taking a heavy rubber band he would stretch it around his face from hair to neck, then let go and allow the band to pucker his face into indescribable contortion. He repeated this often, to the unbounded entertainment of the children present.

When father was ready he arranged the four couples in a line and repeated the marriage service, receiving the replies one after the other as he came to the ones involved. Much fun was directed at the brides and grooms, and the service was punctuated with many suppressed snickers.

The ceremony was finally completed and all were donning their wraps preparatory to departure, when the spokesman took the floor once more. Stepping up to father, he held out one hand which he opened and exposed to view — four silver quarters. To show the world that he was no cheap sport he said, “H’yah Pahson, he’p yo’sef”. Great expectations filled four pairs of youthful eyes as the man had stepped forward, disappointment followed the disclosure of the amount of the anticipated fee, despair came when father picked up and took — one quarter of a dollar.

During May, 1886, word came to the Reverend Collins that Wesley Church, Des Moines, was vacant through the death of the pastor in charge. It was arranged for him to go there and take the place of the deceased brother and the Collins family left Chariton before the conference year had expired. They bid friends good-bye in Chariton, and journeyed to the larger city on June 1st of that year. This was the second sojourn of the family in the city of Des Moines. They rented a house at 913 E. 12th Street, where they lived until the next call of the itinerancy.

About that time rumors were going through the State concerning the doings of a strange sect of people who had come over from England. They had been reported in Philadelphia and Chicago. One summer afternoon two men, two women, and two children appeared at the Collins home on E. 12th Street. All were dressed in uniform, the like of which had never been seen before. The leader was a young man sporting his first mustache and goatee. He introduced himself and party as members of the Salvation Army. They all spoke with a decided British accent, but seemed the jolliest crowd one could wish for.

The party was made up of Major John Dale and his wife, Adjutant Simmonds and his wife and two children. Mrs. Dale was some years her husband’s senior and had been

married before. Mrs. Simmonds was her daughter. All of them had come over from England with Ballington Booth, had worked with him in Philadelphia, and had then gone to Chicago to inaugurate the Army's work in that city. Leaving the latter place in other hands the party set out with the intention of organizing in Iowa, and had brought up at the door of Reverend Collins for the start. Their arrival proved the genesis of Salvation Army work in the State of Iowa.

The methods of this great body of workers were viewed askance by staid members of the established creeds. Their street meetings created much discussion and not a little derision. This party of workers was invited into the Collins home, and there their story was told. Their experiences made them skeptical of a warm reception, and they were too poor to go to an hotel with their flock. Mahlon Collins was not long in making up his mind to help them, no matter what others thought.

They were told to make the Collins home their headquarters and there they remained during the weeks they were getting settled in Des Moines. Toughs pelted them with decayed vegetables and clods of Iowa dirt, and hooted them the first night they paraded and conducted services on the street. Mahlon Collins gave moral aid by partaking in some of the first parades and assisted these people in every way possible. This man should receive credit for assistance in the establishment of Salvation Army work in the State of Iowa. Friendships were fostered there between all the parties mentioned, which continued through the years.

L. M. Mann had worked with the Reverend Collins while both were in Corning, and it was he who had been on the committee which brought Mahlon D. Collins to Wesley Church. On the official board with L. M. Mann were such

men as Samuel Green, L. C. Carpenter — one time mayor of Des Moines — Doctor Kennedy — at that time head of the Iowa State Board of Health — John Bailey, a contractor, Mr. Day, a prominent real estate operator and developer of Capital Park section, Park Wilson, C. D. Coddington, J. M. Ferree, George Anderson, E. P. Drake, W. I. Sutton, and others.

On the fly leaf of a Bible presented to a member of the Collins family by members of Wesley Church is found a partial list of the church roster which includes the following: Mr. and Mrs. Coombs, Mr. Snodgrass, Estella Tenant, Mrs. Holt, Clara Holt, Minnie Holt, Dr. La Mont, Clem Arnold, Mr. and Mrs. Hedges, Garnett Hedges, Roscoe Lang, Halleck Lang, C. Hartman, C. E. Rossiter, Ward Bannister, Frank Wilson, Fred Wilson, Willis Wilson, Wilber Sutton, Tanie Sutton, Ben Mann, Lulu Mann, "Nonie" Kostenbader, Ella Malone, Amos Hiatt, Mrs. Witter, Jennie Reed, Frank Hogh, Etta Pearson, and Alice Hockersmith. Most of these names were of the younger members.

One Sabbath morning of the early winter, the Reverend Collins had reached his morning prayer for the service. He stood with his hands clasped before him on the reading desk of the pulpit, his eyes closed. As he proceeded with his supplications, he became aware of a murmur from the audience. This rapidly rose in volume until the ejaculations of alarm caused him to open his eyes to ascertain the cause. He beheld puffs of smoke and jets of flame coming from the partition between the body of the church and the Sunday School room. Lifting his eyes he beheld flame shooting down from the ceiling of the auditorium. Over his head as he stood in the pulpit, embers detached themselves and came hissing down, and the loud roar of a fire under full headway smote upon his ears. The audience held

their excitement until their minister became aware of the situation, then gave way to incipient panic. The entire congregation arose from their seats and started a mad rush for the doors.

Instantly sensing the situation and need, Mahlon Collins raised his voice in leading the long meter doxology. Others took up and carried the old song until its sound rose above the roar of flames. Sam Green and one or two other cool heads aided with shouted words of direction as they sprang over the backs of pews into the crowd at the exits. The panic was quieted, the audience filed from the building in orderly manner, and not a one was injured. As the last one left the building the whole auditorium was filled with flame and hurtling embers.

The fire had started from an overheated furnace in the basement, spread along the ceiling rafters to openings between partitions, followed upward, reaching the open space overhead, thence across the breadth of the building to the cupolas ornamenting the roof corners. The fire had gained full headway before it was discovered, and the fire department could not prevent an almost complete gutting of the interior. The United Brethren congregation on 12th Street immediately offered their building for services, and there the Methodists met until they could again return to their own church building.

Reverend M. D. Collins reached the fiftieth milestone of his life's journey while at Wesley Church. He honored the occasion with a sermon in which he reviewed his life to that point. Many declared this sermon to have affected them as no other ever had.

After a year and three months at Wesley Church the Collins family removed to Clarinda, in September, 1888.

At Clarinda, M. D. Collins returned to the spot where he had been admitted on trial in the ministry, in September,

1863. This place was also destined to be the scene of his last work on a regular charge for the conference he had aided in organizing. It was fitting that he then receive the highest salary of his preaching career, and the family was housed in a commodious parsonage next the church structure.

He here met a congregation equal in numbers and quality to any he had presided over. Among his people were such leaders as C. R. Vance, C. A. Lisle, Dr. S. A. Lymer, W. P. Hepburn, member of Congress many years, L. M. Greene, the superintendent of schools, I. VanArsdale, L. R. Ausbach, H. L. Prather, Edward Henshaw, Thomas Tomlinson, H. E. McGee, D. C. Ferrys, and their families. The entire membership comprised over four hundred people. Of single persons, the name of Nora Saum remains as that of one of the most loyal members, and friend of the Collins family. They liken her to Mary Ann Baxter of Chariton, as one ever ready to aid in any emergency. Indeed this can be said of many individuals in any of the church organizations served by the Reverend Collins.

Let us touch some of the high points of the record of M. D. Collins. He was a student from boyhood, studied his work after he entered the ministry in a manner no one ever exceeded. Step by step he worked his way, jotting notes and speaking from them in his first years. Then he wrote out sermons in long hand. After his death we found over six hundred written sermons which he had used. He finally reverted to speaking on subjects which he classified under seven hundred headings. A small note book which he had carried about with him contained these written out ready for reference. When an appropriate subject suggested itself he found suitable texts under the heading, turned to it in his Bible, and then spoke from memory. His life had been so full of experiences that he often used them to illus-

trate points in his sermons. A series of written lectures were based on life's experiences. Many sermons were printed in pamphlet form. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him in 1885. Unbounded energy carried him through work and studies. In spite of a busy life he found time to help others as he journeyed forward.

In the early days of Humboldt County, he taught Barney Divine to read and write. Barney afterwards became a very wealthy railroad contractor. In spite of the wealth, Barney often declared he never would have been a gentleman but for the education Mahlon Collins aided him to. Old country Irish training gave him that slant on the value of knowing how to read and write. While Reverend Collins was at Corning, Elliott Voorhees entered the ministry and came to him for aid.

Personal contacts in early Iowa brought Mahlon Collins in touch with the elder Clarkson and his sons, known locally as the Clarkson Brothers. They founded the *Iowa State Register*, forerunner of the present *Des Moines Register*. Leslie M. Shaw, U. S. Treasurer under Roosevelt, was a young member of the congregation at Denison. J. Lee Brown of Chariton was a pugnacious, one-armed, Civil War veteran, who served as State Treasurer, and declared that his successor in office was not legally entitled to the position. To keep his opponent from the place, Brown barricaded himself in the old Capitol building and held the fort until it was carried by storm. Other parishioners over the State attained fame and fortune.

Reverend Collins served his conference as alternate to the General Conference at Baltimore in 1876. He was a delegate to the General Conference at Cincinnati in 1880, and the same at Philadelphia in 1884. During the years 1884-1886 he was secretary of the Des Moines Conference. That was in the day of long hand transcription, but as an

aid to this work, he mastered the Pitman system of shorthand.

The Salvation Army followed the Reverend Collins to Clarinda and was there again assisted by him. Major Dale, Adjutant Simmonds, the wives, and children made the Methodist parsonage their headquarters for several weeks. They established a post down near the railroad station in a portion of the village dubbed "Guntown".

With them came another Englishman who had also come to the United States with Ballington Booth at the time of his first invasion. This man had tarried at Philadelphia and Chicago. He bore the title and name of Sir John McGlasson. Sir John was of such easy manner that the title did not seem to fit him. It was never used. John McGlasson was how we knew him. He was left in charge of the post when Major Dale and Adjutant Simmonds moved to other fields. This marked the genesis of Salvation Army work in Clarinda. This record shows that M. D. Collins had much to do with the organization of what is now considered one of the wealthiest conferences in the Methodist Episcopal Church. And he had not a little to do with fostering Salvation Army work in Iowa in the day when it needed friends.

PREPARING FOR THE MISSION FIELD

Bishop William Henry Taylor, famous missionary of the days of '49 in California, South America, India, and Africa, visited the Des Moines Conference in session in the fall of 1889. His majestic presence, deep-toned voice, and evident sincerity combined to persuade individuals to take up his work. He gained many recruits at that session, among which was the Reverend M. D. Collins, D. D.

Returning to Clarinda with the new idea in mind, Reverend Collins laid plans for departure to a missionary field

in Africa, but he continued work at Clarinda for another year. At conference in September, 1890, he received a transfer certificate from the Des Moines to the African Conference, Congo District, signed by Bishop Isaac W. Joyce.

The call of another frontier had come to this frontiersman. The urge made him want to leave the work he had built up, to rough it once more in the Dark Continent.

Once the decision was made, he never wavered and he set about preparation with characteristic energy. Lightly he prepared to break away from the field that had received twenty-six years of his attention. That his brethren thought more of his sacrifice than he did is shown in a set of resolutions of respect and regret at the parting. These were given him at conference in 1890 and are signed by C. L. Nye, W. S. Hooker, J. R. Horswell, J. W. Bott, W. E. Hamilton, E. M. H. Fleming, B. F. W. Cozier, W. F. Harned, and J. Hestwood, members of the committee.

Returning home to Clarinda after conference, he took his family to camp meeting at Marysville, Missouri, before his final departure. Three members of the Collins family contracted typhoid at this meeting, two of whom were soon very ill.

In the meantime Reverend Collins had decided to enter a medical college and fit himself as a medical missionary. Arrangements were made for him to enter the Boston College of Physicians and Surgeons, now Tufts College, that fall. In order that he might start the school year on time, he took his youngest son with him and hurriedly departed for Boston. He secured an appointment to preach in a church at Beverly and made his headquarters in the parsonage there. Due to the illness of two children, he left his wife and three children in Clarinda until those who were ill could travel.

When Reverend Collins decided to fit himself for practising medical surgery, he did not consider his fifty-three years a handicap sufficient to discourage him from taking up a four years' course, to be completed in three. He proceeded with his plans in the face of all difficulties and hardships, which would have made a younger man pause.

The Missionary Society graciously allowed him to finance himself in the enterprise. Intending to aid, friends had raised a farewell gift of two hundred dollars. This fund was depleted by railroad fares and sickness and the family arrived in Boston with no funds in hand. To make matters worse, the youngest son had developed typhoid soon after their arrival at Beverly. This boy's case was very severe and, of course, did not lessen the expense. The first pittance of salary due at Beverly did not come any too soon.

Here the family lived for two years as the father traveled daily to and from his studies forty miles away, and he filled in with appointments for services in the New England Conference, to which he was temporarily assigned. The two oldest children at home found work, thus taking care of themselves and aiding the general fund. Later on, after he had recovered from his illness, the youngest also added his mite to the earnings. But for all that, the load of responsibility carried by the head of the house those years was far from light. It is certain that Mahlon D. Collins had all his youthful optimism as his ally in that monumental struggle. He never faltered and seemed to enjoy his life as never before. Old Iowa friends with children in school at Boston hunted the family up at Beverly and added to the contentment.

After two years at Beverly, Reverend Collins transferred to Scituate, Massachusetts, as pastor in charge of the Methodist Church. Neither Beverly nor Scituate had done more than promise a few hundred dollars per year

support; the reality was less, for they were poor. During the summer there was special work as evangelist at camp meetings, and in this work he was compelled to travel over New England. With these sources of income, he still could not meet the demand on his pocket book. Tuition, traveling expenses, medical books, living expenses for himself, wife, and two children, all kept him scrambling. In extremity he resorted to parting with the library accumulated in Iowa. Many trips to Boston saw him with arms full of books which he parted with at second hand rates.

Thus he cheerfully fought his way and won his diploma as a physician, graduating on the 4th day of May, 1893, while in his fifty-sixth year. Two of his children returned and joined the other two with their mother to witness the graduation of this husband and father. A fine figure he made in cap and gown, six feet of stature, crowned by a bushy head of curly hair streaked with grey. Now he could add M. D. to the D. D. after his name. Delivering the valedictory for his class, he said: "My parents anticipated this event when they bestowed my name, the initials of which are M. D." He expressed real satisfaction over winning the M. D. The D. D. he felt had been given him.

M. D. Collins was now prepared for the movement to the field in Africa. In 1891 he had been appointed presiding elder of the Congo District, Africa, by Bishop Taylor. The appointment embraced the whole Congo Basin. Boma, a native town just above Stanley Falls, was to be his headquarters. As a last formality, preparing the way to landing at Boma, he had written early in the year 1893, to King Leopold of Belgium for royal sanction to practice medicine in the Congo Free State. The authorization received is dated at Brussels, March 21, 1893, and is signed by Cornven Emeld, Secretary of State.

Relieved of the strain of study and with happy anticipa-

tions, M. D. Collins proceeded to New York City. He was to take ship there for England, and there re-embark on some boat which would land him at the mouth of the Congo. Mrs. Collins and four children were to go with him. Two of the children who had been earning gave up their work for the purpose and the whole party came on to New York City. The pooled interests of the family were exhausted by the time they had reached New York and paid a month's rent on some rooms in which to reside while supplies were being bought and final arrangements made.

Not one cent had yet come from the Missionary Society. From the day of his arrival he expected to be taken care of. Under the Taylor plan of self-supporting missions, the worker was to be furnished three years' supply of clothing, equipment, and food with passage expenses, one way.

The purchase of clothing and supplies had progressed to a point where half the necessities were in hand. Like lightning from a clear sky came the word, "No funds". It proved too true. There was not a cent available for further purchases, let alone the passage money. This faithful worker had been allowed to leave his Iowa charge, spend three years fitting himself for duties as medical missionary at his own expense and with great sacrifices. He was allowed to come on to New York City and dally there without one word of warning.

The revelation marked the darkest hour in the life of M. D. Collins — a great trial to his faith. The gloom was not lessened by the fact that he and his family dependents were abandoned in the heart of New York without one cent of money. His faith was somewhat restored by the arrival of his eldest son and wife who had come on from the West to bid the family bon voyage. Funds were provided by this son, with which the family levered themselves from a tight place.

Two of the children drew on these funds to return to the work they had left, two others and the mother tarried at the home of Ross Taylor at Nyack, while the head of the family looked about for a location. He must work from the ground up again. A home location was found at Ocean Grove, N. J., where he established the wife and two youngest children.

THE HOME MISSIONARY

The crisis in the affairs of Reverend Collins left him in a quandary for a time. Would he return to his old conference in Iowa, or not? He had been doing evangelistic work, and in that there seemed a good field. The decision was made and he started that phase of his work in the fall of 1893.

The family lived at Ocean Grove three years and then moved to Philadelphia so that the youngest daughter might be aided through a course in dental surgery.

During the years as evangelist the Reverend Collins had engagements which took him into every eastern State, many southern States, much of Canada, back to Iowa, and in the western States of Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Texas. He wrote and published many pamphlets during the time and one fair-sized volume entitled *Common Sense Salvation*.

At conference time in 1900, M. D. Collins paid a visit to Iowa and met some of his old comrades there. They tendered him a complimentary dinner at Boone. It was arranged for him to take an appointment under the Home Missionary Society of the Des Moines Conference at Rapid City, S. D. It was his own request, that he go into the home missionary field on fading frontiers.

Rapid City was a thriving town even though its Methodist Church had not emerged from the paternal care of the Des Moines Conference. In spite of this, there was a good-

sized congregation with substantial church building and parsonage to greet the pastor at that time. It seems somewhat incongruous that a man with titles of D. D. and M. D. would serve in what was then an obscure field of the church. There were worth while considerations.

The eldest son, Ralph, was then superintendent of the Sioux Indian School just outside the town. The older couple derived much pleasure and comfort from the contact with this son, daughter-in-law, and grandson. The daughters, Mabel and Nellie, lived at home in Rapid City for a time. Nellie had graduated in dentistry and opened her first office there. Thus the scattered family was partially assembled and the parents enjoyed the close contact. To add to the contentment, several old Iowa neighbors were in the congregation, and for the first time in his ministerial life the Reverend Collins was free of debt and had a bank account. The warrior for his church and his companion of the years passed two of the most happy, contented years of their lives there. Conditions were too good to last.

During the summer of 1902, the son Ralph left Rapid City to take an appointment under the government at Albuquerque and Acomita, N. M., taking his family with him, and he secured an appointment for his sister Mabel as field matron at Acomita. Nellie married and followed her husband to Montana. Thus the aging couple were separated from their children, as the younger ones followed the paths of life's destinies and their vale of contentment no longer lay in Rapid City, in spite of the love and esteem of their parishioners. Then came word of the serious wounding of the daughter Mabel by a wild Navajo Indian. She lay sick at Acomita.

M. D. Collins had been negotiating with the Austin Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He had the idea of locating in that field so that he might be somewhat

closer to Ralph at Albuquerque. An acceptance of his proffered service reached him at the same time as did the news of Mabel's illness. The couple hastily packed their goods and bade good-bye to friends in Rapid City.

They visited Ralph and Mabel at Albuquerque and Acoma. After a week there, M. D. Collins went on to Houston, Texas, where he took an appointment under the Woman's Home Missionary Society. This was work in a new territory of the northern division of the church. The appointment embraced a congregation in Houston Heights, another at Alvin, a third at Pearland. Thus in the thirty-eighth year of his ministry, this man took up work similar to his first on the frontiers of Iowa.

As in the old days, each congregation of his triple circuit worshipped without church buildings. M. D. Collins covered this appointment for over a year. In that time he started his first church building plan at Houston Heights, and pastors were placed on the other two locations.

Concentrating on the growing locality, M. D. Collins at first held services in houses. At night sometimes he tramped through mud in the darkness, for street lighting had not been installed. The new congregation was made up of loyal workers who were ambitious for better things. The new building was soon started, but money was hard to get, and the Home Missionary Society red tape long delayed needed help from them. The Reverend Collins worked hard recruiting labor, directing it, holding services, raising money. At the last, he took paint brush in hand and painted the new structure himself.

Pleasure came in the midst of this period — a visit from Benjamin Williams to his sister and brother-in-law. This old companion of their youth came on from California for the sole purpose of seeing them. Some weeks were spent by these three as they relived the days of their youth, and

recounted hopes realized and lost. Mahlon said to Ben one day, "Well Ben, we always seemed to steer clear of anything there was money in".

Two weeks before his death Mahlon Collins wrote in a letter, "I never felt better in my life and eat like a boy". Feeling thus he went to a surgeon and had the bone remaining in his nostril from the runaway accident removed. There was some slip in the proper closing of the wound and he bled from it for several days, in spite of his own professional attention. In this weakened condition, he overtaxed his strength while continuing work on the church building. Added to this was worry over money to pay the labor bills. Workmen became angry and threatened bodily harm when money was slow coming in for wages.

One morning in February, Mahlon Collins did not rouse himself. He would reply to speech, start to dress, be overcome with drowsiness, and lie back on the bed. Doctors were called and diagnosed a clot on the brain. Lingered one day longer, he passed away the second morning of his illness, February 13, 1904. A few moments before he died he rose in the bed, swung his feet to the floor, and spoke to his wife saying, "Well Kate, we soon will all be in our Heavenly home". With the last word he lay back in composure and died. The end had come in the 67th year of his life while he was still in the harness, and without suffering. He would not have asked a better closing to his active career.

Mahlon Collins had always been the ideal lover to his wife, a most devoted and tender father of his children. His remaining children gathered from New York City, Washington, and Colorado to attend his funeral. Many of his fellow ministers in the Austin Conference paid homage to his memory on that occasion. The Houston papers carried long eulogistic write-ups. He was laid to rest in the Ger-

man Society Cemetery of Houston Heights, Texas. The long looked for check from the Home Missionary Society arrived the day following his death. He was buried from the new church on the day he had set for its dedication.

This church was organized under the title of First Methodist Church of Houston, Texas. The seed there planted has grown into a congregation of 600 members in 1928, worshipping in enlarged quarters, and the need is for a new building of much larger dimension. The name has been changed to the Collins Memorial Church in honor of the man who died for its initial appearance.

His life was crowned with success in turning thousands toward a more complete life. His monuments are the name of Collins, Iowa, and the Houston Church. Those who read this record will agree that the honor was well earned.

Mahlon Day Collins lived his life joyously, always happy in his blessings. Never once was he heard to complain of life's difficulties. To him, there were none which could not be surmounted.

Those who knew him will remember how he always closed a service with his blessing. It was more than the ritual. The unmatched enunciation given with evident sincerity of feeling for his fellow men, made of his rendition a masterpiece. His passing from the stage of life was so in accord with his desires, if he could express them, the writer feels that the reader audience would be dismissed with the words, "And now may the blessing of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost rest upon you, and abide with you always, now, and forever, AMEN."

HUBERT E. COLLINS

SOME PUBLICATIONS

A Raft Pilot's Log, by Walter A. Blair, Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1930. Pp. 328. Plates, maps. This volume has a dual interest for Iowans. It deals with a subject in which many of the cities and towns of Iowa were financially interested and its author is an Iowan. Its sub-title — *A History of the Great Rafting Industry on the Upper Mississippi 1840-1915* — describes its content. For almost three-quarters of a century the logging and rafting industry played a major rôle in the story of westward expansion. From the northern rivers tributary to the Mississippi, great rafts of logs moved sluggishly downstream to feed the lumber mills at Dubuque, Clinton, Davenport, Muscatine, Burlington, Fort Madison, and Keokuk.

This volume contains biographies and pictures of many of the men prominent in the rafting industry, a list of sawmills and their owners, an account of the boats engaged in the trade with their owners and officers, a table of the output of logs from the different rivers, and other valuable historical material. Especially interesting are the chapters entitled "Beef Slough", "The Noted Raft-boat 'Silver Wave'", "Pleasant Rafting with the Good 'Ten Broeck'", "The Green Tree Hotel", "What Became of the Raft-boats", "The Largest Raft", and "The First Boat Built to Tow Rafts". Throughout the book Mr. Blair introduces interesting tales of his own personal experiences.

The October, 1929, number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* contains a number of articles of historical interest, among which may be noted *The Conestoga Wagon*, by Bryan Hamilton.

The United States Government Printing Office has recently published a *State Law Index*, 1925-1926, Number 1. This contains an index and digest to the legislation of the various States during the years covered.

The two papers which appear in the *Journal of The Presbyterian Historical Society* for September, 1929, are the *Journal and Report of the Rev. A. Foster, of Willington, S. C., Dec., 1829—May, 1830*, edited by Gordon Arthur Riegler; and *Biographies of the Alumni of the Log College*, by George H. Ingram. The latter is continued in the December number, which also includes *Aratus Kent, First Presbyterian Minister in Northern Illinois*, by Gordon Arthur Riegler.

Volume IV of the *Studies and Records*, published by the Norwegian-American Historical Association, contains a number of articles and papers. Among these are *The Adjustment of a Pioneer Pastor to American Conditions Laur. Larsen, 1857-1880*, by Karen Larsen; *Immigration and Social Amelioration*, by Joseph Schafer; *The Mind of the Scandinavian Immigrant*, by George M. Stephenson; and *An Account of a Journey to California in 1852*, by Tosten Kittelsen Stabaek, translated by Einar J. Haugen.

The American Historical Review for July, 1929, contains the following articles: *What Chinese Historians Are Doing in Their Own History*, by Arthur W. Hummel; *English Manorial Forms*, by Nellie Neilson; *The Membership of the Jacobin Clubs*, by Crane Brinton; and *The Fate of Calhoun's Sovereign Convention in South Carolina*, by Laura A. White. Under *Documents* appears *Letters Concerning the "Universal Republic"*, contributed by W. F. Galpin. The issue for October, 1929, contains four articles and papers: *The Interrelation of Social and Constitutional History*, by James G. Randall; *New Historical Documents in Greek and Roman History*, by William L. Westermann; *Football in Medieval England and in Middle English Literature*, by Francis P. Magoun, Jr., and *Aspects of Revolutionary Finance, 1775-1783*, by Ralph V. Harlow. Under *Notes and Suggestions* are *Perquisites of the President of the Continental Congress* and *The German Declaration of War on France*. *China After the Victory of Taku, June 25, 1859*, contributed by T. F. Tsiang, appears under the heading *Documents*. *The Newer Ways of Historians*, by James Harvey Robinson; *A Synthetic Principle in American Social History*, by

Dixon Ryan Fox; *The Tribute Lists and the Non-Tributary Members of the Delian League*, by Allen Brown West; and *The Tariff and Reconstruction*, by Howard K. Beale, are the articles included in the number for January, 1930. Under *Notes and Suggestions*, Louise Phelps Kellogg writes of *The Early Biographers of George Rogers Clark* and Raymond Turner contributes *Sale of Securities in July, 1914*.

WESTERN AMERICANA

Harrod's Old Fort 1791, by Willard Rouse Jillson, has been printed in pamphlet form by the Kentucky State Historical Society.

The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine for October, 1929, contains a continuation of *The Ancestry of President Brigham Young*, by Mabel Young Sanborn.

The Official Roster of the Soldiers of the American Revolution Buried in the State of Ohio has been published by the State of Ohio. The records were compiled by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

George Rogers Clark and the Revolution in Illinois 1763-1787, by Theodore Calvin Pease and Marguerite Jenison Pease, has been published as a booklet by the Illinois State Historical Library and the Illinois State Historical Society.

Since the Iowa country was for some years governed by Spain, Iowa history students will be interested in *The Intendant System in Spanish America*, by Lillian Estelle Fisher, recently published by the University of California Press.

Jehu Hay is the subject of *Detroit Biographies* written by M. M. Quaife for the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet* for September, 1929. The number for November contains an account of *Three Physicians of Old Detroit*, by Louise Rau.

A second volume of the *Calendar of Manuscript in Paris Archives and Libraries Relating to the History of the Mississippi Valley to 1803* has recently been published and distributed by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. It was prepared by N. M.

Miller Surrey and covers the period from 1740 to 1803. An index to the two volumes is to be issued as Volume III.

The Quivira Society has recently issued the first volume of a series designated as the *Quivira Society Publications*. The title of this volume is *Expedition into New Mexico Made by Antonio de Espejo 1582-1583, As Revealed in the Journal of Diego Pérez de Luxán, a Member of the Party*, translated, with introduction and notes, by George Peter Hammond and Agapito Rey.

The Herald Publishing Company of St. Peters, Minnesota, has recently issued a volume of interest to Iowans. This is entitled *Old Traverse des Sioux*, by Thomas Hughes and W. C. Brown, edited by Edward A. Johnson. A number of pictures add to the interest of the narratives.

St. Paul and Ramsey County in the War of 1917-1918, edited by Franklin F. Holbrook, has been published by the Ramsey County War Records Commission of St. Paul, Minnesota, and distributed in coöperation with the Minnesota Historical Society. In addition to the local history of the war times, the volume contains a roster and an index.

An address at the unveiling of the Harris memorial tablet, by William H. Stevenson; *Pittsburgh Industries That Used to Be*, by Margaret Elder; *Reminiscences of the Rivers*, by James A. Henderson; *Squirrel Hill*, by Margaret A. Frew; and *Elbridge Gerry, Jr., Visits Pittsburgh, 1813*, by E. M. Davis, are articles and papers in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for October, 1929.

A Kentucky Pioneer Tells Her Story of Early Boonesborough and Harrodsburg, by Louise Phelps Kellogg; *The Founding of Lexington, Kentucky*, by Willard Rouse Jillson; *The Filson Club's New Home*, by Otto A. Rothert; and *Henderson, Kentucky, and the Society of the Transylvanians*, also by Otto A. Rothert, are the four contributions in *The History Quarterly of The Filson Club* for October, 1929.

Historical Societies—Living and Dead, by Worthington C. Ford; *Ohio and the English Common Law*, by William T. Utter;

A Century of a Georgia Plantation, by E. Merton Coulter; *Interstate Migration and Indiana Culture*, by Robert LaFollette; and *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri*, by A. P. Nasatir, are the articles and papers in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for December, 1929. Under *Documents*, there is *The South Carolina Yazoo Company*, edited by Arthur P. Whitaker.

How the Louisiana Purchase Was Financed, by J. E. Winston and R. W. Colomb; *West Florida — The Capture of Baton Rouge by Galvey, September 21st, 1779*; *The Vengeance of the Natchez*, by Clem G. Hearsey; and continuations of *Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana*, by Heloise H. Cruzat and the *Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana*, by Laura L. Porteous, are articles which appear in *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for April, 1929.

The issue of *The Washington Historical Quarterly* for October, 1929, contains an index of articles, documents, and book reviews printed in Volumes XI to XX. *Spokane House*, by T. C. Elliott; *Some Notes Upon Captain Robert Gray*, by F. W. Howay and Albert Matthews; *What Became of Benjamin Clapp?*, by J. Neilson Barry; *A Mount Rainier Centennial*, by C. B. Bagley and Asahel Curtis; *The Subdivisions of the Original Lewis County*, by Frank A. Garbe; and *The Significance of 1846 to the Pacific Coast*, by Gertrude Cunningham, are the articles which appear in the January, 1930, number.

The number of *Mid-America* for October, 1929, contains the following articles: *Some Unpublished Lorian Documents*, by Matthias M. Hoffmann; *General James A. Wilkinson and His Religious Affiliations*, by Raphael Noteware Hamilton; and *Irish Immigration to Minnesota, 1865-1890*, by Howard Eston Egan. *Early Explorers of the Southwest*, by Paul J. Foik; *Port Washington Draft Riot of 1862*, by Peter Leo Johnson; a second installment of *Irish Immigration to Minnesota*, by Howard Eston Egan; and *Mission San Juan Bautista*, by May Stanislaus Corcoran, are articles in the number for January, 1930. Under *Documents* there is the *Plan of Fort Orleans*, by Marc de Villiers du Terrage. The

number also contains an account of the dedication of the Marquette-Jolliet monument, by Frederic Siedenburgh.

Carl Schurz — The American, by Carl Russell Fish; *The Lincoln and La Follette Families in Pioneer Drama*, by Louis A. Warren; and *Pioneer and Political Reminiscences*, by Nils P. Haugen, are the articles in *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* for June, 1929. Under *Documents* appears the *Narrative of Thomas Hanford Sheldon. The Life of a Lumberman*, by John E. Nelligan, as told to Charles M. Sheridan; *Carl Schurz: 1829-1929*, by Glenn Frank; and *The Society and the State*, by Louise Phelps Kellogg, are the three articles which make up the September, 1929, number. The December, 1929, issue contains the following articles and papers: *Pioneer Priests at Prairie du Chien*, by P. L. Scanlan; *Notes on the Distribution of the German-Born in Wisconsin in 1905*, by Guy-Harold Smith; *Pioneer and Political Reminiscences*, by Nils P. Haugen; *The Life of a Lumberman*, by John E. Nelligan; and *The Society and the State*, by Louise Phelps Kellogg.

The *Proceedings of the Southwestern Indiana Historical Society* for 1928 appears as an extra number of the *Indiana History Bulletin*, dated August, 1929. The annual meeting of the Society for 1928 was held at Evansville, Indiana, on February 23rd. Ann Page was elected curator. A summer meeting was held at Gentryville on June 1st, and the fall meeting at Rockport on October 30th. Among the papers included in the *Proceedings* are the following: *Emphasis in the Work of Historical Societies*, by Christopher B. Coleman; *Narrative of Chickamauga and Chattanooga*, by William G. Jaquess; *An Interview with James A. Jones on the Lincoln Cabin*, by George Honig; *Interviews with Spencer County Pioneers about 1895*, by T. Hardy Masterson; *Development of Public Education in Southwestern Indiana, 1816-1880*, by Otis E. Young; and *The Lincolns' Eastward Environment*, by Thomas James de la Hunt.

In the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* for July, 1929, Harold E. Briggs writes of *Early Freight and Stage Lines in Dakota*; Merrill G. Burlingame tells of *The Buffalo in Trade and Commerce*;

and Charles E. Brown contributes a *Survey of the State Historical Museum of North Dakota, 1929*. The October, 1929, number contains the *Journal of the Atkinson-O'Fallon Expedition*, edited by Russell Reid and Clell G. Gannon. There is also a report of the State Historical Museum made on October 17, 1929, by Russell Reid, the curator.

The Missouri Historical Review for July, 1929, contains the following articles and papers: *The Boone, Hays and Berry Families of Jackson County*, by Virginia Hays Asbury and Albert N. Doerschuk; *Reminiscences of Official Life in Jefferson City, 1865-1875*, by Cyrus Thompson; *The Cook Family of Southeast Missouri*, by George Munger; *Pioneer Days in West Plains and Howell County*, by Alice Carey Risley; and a continuation of *George Engelmann, Man of Science*, by William G. Bek; and *Missouri Politics During the Civil War*, by Seeva Bright Laughlin. *Ducharme's Invasion of Missouri—An Incident in the Anglo-Spanish Rivalry for the Indian Trade of Upper Louisiana*, by Abraham P. Nasatir; *Letters from Alexander W. Doniphan*, by William B. McGroarty; *The True Character of Mark Twain's Wife*, by Cyril Clemens; *Early Springfield*, by Edward M. Shepard; *George Engelmann, Man of Science, Part IV*, by William G. Bek; and a third installment of *Missouri Politics During the Civil War*, by Seeva Bright Laughlin, are the articles and papers in the issue for October, 1929.

The Wisconsin Archeologist for July, 1929, contains a number of short papers and articles—*Archaeology as a Human Interest*, by Clark Wissler; *Winnebago County Indian Earthenware*, by Arthur P. Kannenberg; *Cartographic Symbols for Archeological Survey Maps*, by Charles E. Brown; *American Indian Cross-bow*, by Paul B. Jenkins; *Some Methods and Results of the Iowa Archeological Survey*, by Charles R. Keyes; and *Plants Used by the White Mountain Apache Indians of Arizona*, by Albert B. Reagan. The issue for October, 1929, contains a monograph by Charles E. Brown and Theodore T. Brown on *Indian Village and Camp Sites on the Lower Rock River in Wisconsin*.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma for September, 1929, contains the following articles and papers: *The Prehistoric Cultures of Okla-*

homa, by Joseph B. Thoburn; *The Foreign Mission School at Cornwall, Connecticut*, by Carolyn Thomas Foreman; *A Reminiscence of a Methodist Minister's Daughter*, by Mrs. Flora Paine Eichenberger; *The First Two Years*, by Dan W. Peery; *Site of Dancing Rabbit Creek Treaty Preserved*, by Czarina C. Conlan; and *Lost Gold Mines of Oklahoma*, by B. L. Phipps. *A Cherokee Pioneer, Ella Flora Coodey Robinson*, by Carolyn Thomas Foreman; *Tribute to Capt. D. L. Payne*, by William H. Osburn; *Brief Outline of the Choctaw and the Chickasaw Nations in the Indian Territory 1820 to 1860*; and a continuation of *The First Two Years* are articles and papers in the number for December, 1929.

When America Was the Land of Canaan, by George M. Stephenson, *A Newly Discovered Work of Beltrami*, by Edward C. Gale; and *A Norwegian-American Landnamsman: Ole S. Gjerset*, by Knut Gjerset, are the three articles published in *Minnesota History* for September, 1929. This number also contains an account of the State Historical Convention at Hutchinson and a continuation of *Minnesota as Seen by Travelers: A Danish Visitor of the Seventies*. Three articles appear in the December, 1929, number: *William Joseph Snelling and the Early Northwest*, by Allen E. Woodall; *Martin McLeod and the Minnesota Valley*, by Charles J. Ritchey; and *The Ordeal of Pioneering*, by Timothy Rowley. There is also a third installment of *Minnesota as Seen by Travelers*, edited by Jacob Hodnefield, and under *Notes and Documents* there is the story of *Guri Endreson, Frontier Heroine*, by Theodore C. Blegen; and *The Study of Pioneer Life*, by Le Roy G. Davis.

The articles and papers published in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for July, 1929, include the following: *Record of Events in the Life and Times of Edward William West, Belleville, Illinois, A. D. 1895*; *History of the Springfield Family Welfare Association*, by Jane Logan Brown; *Letters Written by a Peoria Woman in 1835*, by Ellen Bigelow; and *The Lincoln Family in 1861*, by Geo. H. Smyser. The issue for October, 1929, contains the following articles and papers: *Historical Values in the Mid-Century Literature of the Middle West*, by Arthur H. Hirsch; *James Hall in Shawneetown*, by Esther Shultz; *A Girl in the*

Sixties: Excerpts from the Journal of Anna Ridgely, edited by Octavia Roberts Corneau and Georgia L. Osborne; *Azel W. Dorsey, Lincoln's School Teacher in Indiana Buried in Illinois*, by J. B. Oakleaf; *Dedication of Marquette Monument at Grafton, Illinois*, by Frederic Siedenburg; *Beard Family History*, by Minerva Collins; *Annie Louise Keller Memorial*; and *Rev. Jesse Pearce*, by Micah Pearce Smith.

Volume XIV of the *South Dakota Historical Collections* contains the following studies and papers: *History and Resources of Dakota, Montana and Idaho*, by M. K. Armstrong; *Outlines of History of the Territory of Dakota and Emigrant's Guide*, by James S. Foster; *A Sketch of the History and Resources of Dakota Territory*, by George Alexander Batchelder; *Michael R. Russell and Some Notes of His Associations with William F. Cody ("Buffalo Bill")*, by Mitzi Zoske Brady and Charles E. DeLand; *The Indian Reservation System of the Dakotas to 1889*, by Charles Lowell Green; *Ranching and Stock-Raising in the Territory of Dakota*, by Harold E. Briggs; *How South Dakota Became a State*, by Marie Louise Lotze; *Tales of the Dakota*, by Doane Robinson; *The Danes in South Dakota*, by Thomas P. Christensen; *History of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church at Swan Lake, South Dakota*, by Mrs. Mary A. Schmidt; and *A Brief History of the Nidaros Lutheran Congregation*, by H. A. Ustrud.

The Founding of Harrodsburg and Old Fort Harrod, both by Willard Rouse Jillson; *Live Stock Trade Between Kentucky and the South, 1840-1860*, by T. D. Clark; *Department of State Archives Henderson County; Kentucky State Papers*; and continuations of *Revolutionary Soldiers*; *Memoirs of Micah Taul*; and *Kentucky Tombstone Inscriptions* are included in *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* for September, 1929. A continuation of *Excerpts from Executive Journal of Gov. Isaac Shelby*; *Items from a Mercer County Will Book*; *Mercer County Tax List—1789*; *Revolutionary Soldiers*; *Allen*, by Henry T. Allen; *Thomas Lincoln's Accounts with Elizabethtown Merchants*, by O. M. Mather; and *Harrod's Old Fort 1791*, by Willard Rouse Jillson, are contributions in the issue for January, 1930.

The *Indiana Magazine of History* for September, 1929, contains a number of papers and articles, among which are the following: *Colonel A. B. Crampton*, by Mindwell Crampton Wilson; *John Mahoney: An Indianapolis Sculptor*, by George S. Cottman; *Old Cemeteries of Knox County*, by Inez Purcell Joice; and *The Site of the First Settlement in Hendricks County*, by Geraldine Blessing. The December, 1929, issue contains the following articles and papers: *The Burr Conspiracy in Indiana*, by Isaac J. Cox; *The Indiana Magazine of History: A Retrospect*, by George S. Cottman; *Some Gleanings from Monrovia*, by Bessie Johnson Showalter; *The Strange Story of How Capital was Obtained for an Indiana Railroad*, by J. W. Parker; *Some Reminiscences of Vevay*, by Mrs. Julia LeClerc Knox; *A Letter of 1863 from a Western University President*; and *Cash Account of a University Student (1902-1903)*.

The *Year Book of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee* for 1928 is the eighth in this series. Under the general heading, *Notes on the Museum's Collecting Expeditions in 1928*, the volume contains the following papers: *Ohio Type of Mounds in Wisconsin*, by W. C. McKern; *A Trip to the Delta of the Athabasca and Peace Rivers*, by C. S. Jung; *A Visit to Crater Lake, Oregon and Volcanoes of Hawaii*, both by Ira Edwards; *The Copper Country in Ontonagon and Gogebic Counties, Michigan*, by G. O. Raasch; *Among the Winnebago*, by H. H. Smith; *The Ohio River in 1928* and *A Visit to Blennerhassett Island*, both by R. S. Corwin; and three articles by W. D. Kline — *Ozark Observations and Impressions*; *Hot Springs National Park*; and *Platt National Park*. Under *Special Notes and News* are eight papers, as follows: *Progress in the Museum's Group Building Program*, by H. F. Binger; *A Winnebago War-bundle Ceremony*, by W. C. McKern; *The William J. Uihlein Collection of Postage Stamps*, by A. J. Gillan; *The Diamond-back Rattlesnake in Wisconsin and Wisconsin Herpetological Notes*, both by T. E. B. Pope; *Scenic Regions of Wisconsin*; *The Mauston Country*, by Ira Edwards; *An Ingenious Historical Museum*, by R. S. Corwin; and a *Preliminary List of Serials in the Library of the Milwaukee Public Museum*, by G. M. W. Teyen.

The autumn number of the *Michigan History Magazine* for 1929 is a teachers' number. It contains a series of articles relating to education in Michigan and information concerning the State. Among the articles are the following: *The Teaching of Michigan History*, by Claude S. Larzelere; *The Study of Michigan History*, by L. A. Chase; and *Teaching State History in the High School*, by R. M. Tryon. There are also accounts of the Michigan State song, flower, flag, coat-of-arms, seal, and capitol. L. A. Chase contributes an article on *Michigan* and there are outlines, topics, and bibliographical lists for Michigan history teaching. Part three contains: an article by Eleanor Griffin McNett on *A Junior Pioneer League*; *Fifty Questions on Local History*; *School History Clubs*; *Practical Hints for Local Historical Work*; *Suggestions for School Historical Programs and Museums*, by O. W. Mosher, Jr.; and a *Constitution for a County Historical Society*. *Manuscript Maps of American European Archives*, by Louis C. Karpinski; *Greece and Michigan*, by Charilaos Lagoudakis; *Lewis Cass and Squatter Sovereignty*, by James B. Ranek; *Cremation in Michigan*, by George B. Catlin; *Lieut. John Fitch, Inventor of the Steamboat*, by Roseoe Conkling Fitch; *The Farrier Episode of the Spanish War*, by Ivan Swift; and *The Spring Hill Indian School Correspondence*, by Sister Mary Rosalita, are the articles and papers in the winter number. There is also a *Calendar of Michigan Copy-rights*.

IOWANA

Mark Twain Anecdotes, edited by Cyril Clemens, has been published in booklet form by the Mark Twain Society.

Lamoni, Home of Graceland College, is a souvenir booklet issued in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the town.

A biographical sketch of John Chambers, the second Governor of the Territory of Iowa, by Bruce E. Mahan, appears in Volume III of the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

Our Outstanding Pioneer Theodore N. Vail, by Charles E. Hall, is an article of interest to Iowans, which appears in *The Northwestern Bell* for October, 1929. Vail lived in Iowa for several years.

The Pioneers and Politics of Davis County, Iowa, a booklet by Harry C. Evans, has recently been published by the Bloomfield Democrat of Bloomfield, Iowa. In addition to reminiscences and history, this little volume contains some interesting biographical material.

Biographical material relating to Henry Craig Jones and Elmer Almy Wilcox; *The Restatement of the Common Law by the American Law Institute*, by Arthur L. Corbin; and *Enforceable Promises in Iowa*, by O. K. Patton, are included in the December, 1929, number of the *Iowa Law Review*.

The fifteenth installment of L. O. Leonard's *Famous Homes on the Rock Island Lines* is *The Bonnifield Home at Fairfield, Iowa*, which appears in the *Rock Island Magazine* for October, 1929. In the issue for December, Mr. Leonard presents *The Emerson Hough Home at Newton, Iowa*.

The Arbor Day, Park and Conservation Movements in Iowa, by Louis H. Pammel, and *Joseph M. Street's Last Fight with the Fur Traders*, by Ida M. Street, are the two contributions which make up the *Annals of Iowa* for October, 1929. Miss Street is a granddaughter of General Street. The January number contains the following four articles: Moore's *Opera House*, by W. O. Payne; *Shabbona and the Part He Played in the Pioneer History of the Mississippi Valley*, by B. L. Wick; *Colonel Henry Dodge and His Regiment of Dragoons on the Plains in 1834*; and *The Arbor Day, Park and Conservation Movements in Iowa*, by L. H. Pammel. There is also an editorial entitled *Fourierist Colony in Iowa*.

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

The first Moville post office, in the *Moville Mail*, September 1, 1929.

When Jasper County was an Underground Railway link, in the *Newton News*, September 3, 1929.

Indian family at New Albin, Iowa, in the *Perry Chief*, September 3, 1929.

Story of the Sioux massacre, 1857, by S. P. Thomas, in the *Estherville Vindicator and Republican*, September 4, the *Spencer*

News-Herald, September 5, the *Estherville News*, September 5, and the *Spirit Lake Beacon*, September 26, 1929.

Early days in Fremont County, by Joseph Hiatt, Jr., in the *Sidney Argus Herald*, September 5, 1929.

Pioneer days in Des Moines, in the *Des Moines Register*, September 6, 1929.

Restoration of the old Sheldall school, in the *Webster City Journal*, September 7, 1929.

State Representatives from Winnebago County, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, September 7, 1929.

Trouble with horse thieves in Howard County, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, September 8, 1929.

Doom of Haydock and Bucknell, Iowa, in the *Chariton Leader*, September 10, and the *Oskaloosa Times*, October 3, 1929.

First schoolhouse in Fayette County, in the *West Union Argo-Gazette*, September 11, the *Waterloo Tribune*, September 19, and the *Fayette County Union*, September 19, 1929.

Settlement of the "New Purchase", in the *Sigourney Review*, September 11, 1929.

Pioneer days in Iowa, by Lawrence Wright, in the *Jefferson Bee*, September 11, 18, 25, December 4, 1929.

The anniversary of McGregor's first church, in the *North Iowa Times*, September 12, 1929.

John Brown's visit to Grinnell, in the *Montezuma Republican*, September 12, the *Perry Chief*, September 14, the *Cedar Rapids Gazette and Republican*, September 15, and the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, September 15, 1929.

Dedication of Abbie Gardner Sharp Memorial, in the *Spirit Lake Beacon*, September 12, 1929.

Anniversary of the Zion Lutheran Church, Grant Township, in the *Storm Lake Pilot-Tribune*, September 12, 1929.

- Building of the Rock Island railroad from Davenport to Council Bluffs, in the *Grinnell Herald*, September 13, 1929.
- Pioneer life, in the *Washington Evening Journal*, September 14, 1929.
- Reminiscences of pioneer days in Wadena, by Mrs. John Helerich, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, September 15, 1929.
- State legislators from Butler County, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, September 16, 1929.
- Sketch of life of Oliver Perry Hardee, first white child born in Page County, in the *Clarinda Herald*, September 16, 1929.
- State normal schools, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, September 17, 1929.
- Court in early days in Fayette County, in the *West Union Argo-Gazette*, September 18, 1929.
- Early work of a pioneer pastor, M. C. Holseth, in Estherville, in the *Estherville Vindicator and Republican*, September 18, 1929.
- Old settlers of Osceola County, in the *Sibley Gazette*, September 19, 1929.
- Story of the Indians, by Cal Ogburn, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, September 19, 1929.
- Centennial celebration of Burlington, in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, September 22, 1929.
- A pioneer cabin, by Bill Conway, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette and Republican*, September 22, 1929.
- Iowa in the days of Robert Lucas, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, September 23, 24, 1929.
- Reminiscences of Joseph Hiatt, in the *Glenwood Opinion-Tribune*, September 23, 1929.
- Story of a pioneer hotel in Council Bluffs, in the *Oskaloosa Herald*, September 24, 1929.

- Story of the courts in Louisa County, by Robert E. Barr, in the *Muscatine Journal and News Tribune*, September 24, 1929.
- Historical lore of Louisa County, in the *Muscatine Journal and News Tribune*, September 24, 1929, and the *Wapello Republican*, September 26, October 24, 1929.
- History of the "Old Red Mill" at Spirit Lake, by A. B. Funk, in the *Des Moines Register*, September 24, and the *Spirit Lake Beacon*, September 26, 1929.
- Biographical sketch of Thomas Lawrence, organizer of Iowa's first baseball team, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette and Republican*, September 24, 1929.
- Early days in Grinnell in the *Grinnell Herald*, September 10, 13, 17, 24, 27, October 1, 4, 8, 15, 18, November 5, 29, and the *Grinnell Register*, September 26, October 16, 1929.
- Settlers of Searsport, by E. E. Sargent, in the *Grinnell Herald*, September 24, 1929.
- An Indian battle in Harrison County, by Will L. Clark, in the *Woodbine Twiner*, September 26, 1929.
- Recollections of Monona County pioneers, by Willard Robbins, in the *Mapleton Press*, September 26, October 24, November 7, 14, 21, 28, December 19, 1929.
- A pioneer residence in Cedar Falls, by Roger Leavitt, in the *Cedar Falls Record*, September 26, 1929.
- Anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church of Winterset, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, September 26, 1929.
- Story of the "prairie-breakers", by Cal Ogburn, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, September 26, 1929.
- Biographical sketch of G. A. Shurtliff, earliest Grundy County resident, in the *Grundy Register*, September 26, 1929.
- Horse thieves in early Iowa days, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, September 27, 1929.

Story of the Tally War, by W. C. Morris, in the *Charles City Press*, September 28, 1929.

Historical sketch of the Rehoboth Congregation, Wyman, Iowa, by Rev. Reno Robb, in the *Washington Evening Journal*, September 28, 1929.

Historical sketch of Iowa City, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, September 28, 30, October 7, 28, November 25, 1929.

Trail of early pioneers, in the *Chariton Leader*, October 1, 1929.

Roster of political club of 1866, in the *Cedar Falls Record*, October 1, 1929.

Dedication of Estes House cornerstone at Keokuk, in the *Keokuk Gate City*, October 1, 1929.

Relatives of J. B. Grinnell, in the *Grinnell Herald*, October 1, 1929.

Historical sketch of James A. Smith, a widely known educator, in the *Davis County Republican*, October 1, 1929.

Recollections of St. Mary's Catholic Church, Ottumwa, by Stephen Barnes, in the *Ottumwa Courier*, October 2, 1929.

Historical facts about Iowa, in the *Keystone Bulletin*, October 2, 1929.

Anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church of Hopkinton, in the *Hopkinton Leader*, October 3, 1929.

History of the Presbyterian society of Clarksville, in the *Clarksville Star*, October 3, 1929.

History of the First Baptist Church of Burlington, in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, October 3, 1929.

Story of the Prairie Home Female Seminary of Waterloo, in the *Waterloo Courier*, October 3, 1929.

Early days in Red Oak, as recalled by Mrs. Margaret Bolt, in the *Red Oak Express*, October 3, 1929.

Early history of Norway, by Otis Tuttle, in the *Benton County Star*, October 3, 1929.

Marking of the Dred Scott house at Davenport, in the *Davenport Democrat and Leader*, October 4, 1929.

Earliest residents of Iowa, in the *Perry Chief*, October 4, 1929.

Anniversary of the First Baptist Church of Waterloo, in the *Waterloo Courier*, October 4, 1929.

History of P. E. O., organized in Iowa, in the *Burlington Gazette*, October 5, 1929.

Biographical sketch of Judge John F. Dillon, in the *Davenport Democrat and Leader*, October 6, 1929.

Biographical sketch of Herman F. Zeuch, in the *Davenport Times*, October 8, 1929.

Indian relics found on Iowa's "desert", in the *Chariton Leader*, October 8, 1929.

Pioneer times in Kossuth County, by Horace Mann, in the *Upper Des Moines Republican*, October 9, 1929.

Biographical sketch of John F. Kline, former State Representative, in the *Des Moines Register*, October 9, 1929.

First settlers of Lamont, in the *Oelwein Register*, October 9, 1929.

Anniversary of Luther College, Decorah, in the *Decorah Journal*, October 9, 1929.

Founding of New Market, by Mrs. Merle Harland, in the *New Market Herald*, October 10, 1929.

Pioneer log cabin at Fairfield, in the *Parkersburg Eclipse*, October 10, and the *Madrid Register-News*, October 10, 1929.

The history of St. John's Lutheran Church at Madrid, in the *Madrid Register-News*, October 10, 1929.

Biographical sketch of Rev. D. Nicoll, oldest United Presbyterian pastor in Iowa, in the *Ida County Pioneer-Record*, October 10, 1929.

Early history of Corning, in the *Adams County Free Press*, October 10, December 5, 1929.

A history of the Elim Lutheran Church of Randall, in the *Jewell Record*, October 10, 1929.

History of Manti, in the *Sidney Argus-Herald*, October 10, 24, 1929.

Biographical sketch of Robert Kepner, oldest Civil War veteran in Marengo, in the *Marengo Pioneer-Republican*, October 10, 1929.

Recollections of fifty years on the upper Mississippi River, by Captain Walter A. Blair, in the *Burlington Post*, October 12, November 23, December 28, 1929.

History of Honey Creek Friends Church near New Providence, prettiest country church in Iowa, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, October 12, 1929.

Early railroad building in Iowa, by I. C. Davidson, in the *Burlington Post*, October 12, 1929.

History of St. Anthony's chapel near Festina, the smallest church in the world, in the *Sioux City Journal*, October 14, 1929.

Pioneer events in Union County history, by George A. Ide, in the *Creston Advertiser*, October 16, and the *Afton Star Enterprise*, October 17, 1929.

Golden wedding anniversary of Mr. and Mrs. E. R. Zeller, prominent early residents of Iowa, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, October 16, 1929.

The making of maple sugar in Boone County, by C. L. Lucas, in the *Madrid Register-News*, October 17, and the *Webster City Journal*, October 26, 1929.

Story of Gilead Church near Bedford in the *Bedford Times-Republican*, October 17, 1929.

Pioneer history of Iowa, by Harriett Kingman Farnham, in the *Spirit Lake Beacon*, October 17, 1929.

Story of Father Capistran Zwinge in Iowa City, 1864-1865, in the *Catholic Daily Tribune*, October 17, 1929.

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Pioneer reminiscences of Henry A. Stebbins, in the *Lamoni Chronicle*, October 17, 1929.

History of the Marathon Lutheran Church, in the *Storm Lake Pilot-Tribune*, October 17, 24, 1929.

Reminiscences of early days in Iowa, by J. D. Humphreys, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, October 18, 1929.

History of military training at the State University of Iowa, in the *Daily Iowan*, October 19, 1929.

Memoirs of Captain Sam Van Sant, in the *Burlington Post*, October 19, December 14, 1929.

Story of Garnavillo, by Florence Clark, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, October 20, 1929.

Biographical sketch of Frank M. Miles, pioneer Des Moines business man, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, October 21, 1929.

Handwriting in the Indian cave at New Albin, in the *Waukon Republican and Standard*, October 23, 1929.

Historical facts of Cerro Gordo County, by Miss Harriet Perret, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, October 23, 1929.

Biographical sketch of F. J. M. Wonser, pioneer of Tama County, by Alice A. Witosky, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette and Republican*, October 23, 1929.

History of the Catholic church in Washington, in the *Catholic Messenger*, October 24, 1929.

Election in Boone County, 1847, by C. L. Lucas, in the *Madrid Register-News*, October 24, 1929.

Early history of Van Buren County, in the *Keosauqua Republican*, October 24, 31, 1929.

History of the First Baptist Church of Shell Rock, in the *Waverly Democrat*, October 24, 1929.

Early days in West Bend, by B. F. McFarland, in the *Emmetsburg Democrat*, October 24, 1929.

History of Hardin County, in the *Alden Times*, October 24, 1929.

Biographical sketch of Mrs. E. B. Denison, wife of the founder of Denison, in the *Denison Bulletin*, October 24, 1929.

Biographical sketch of W. H. Gallup, pioneer Iowa editor, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, October 26, 28, the *Boone News-Republican*, October 29, and the *Ames Tribune*, October 30, 1929.

Navigation on the Des Moines River in early days, by Jasper Blines, in the *Burlington Post*, October 26, 1929.

History of a pioneer hotel at Delhi, in the *Des Moines Register*, October 27, 1929.

Early days on Skunk River, by Marion Caldwell, in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, October 27, 1929.

History of Cascade Academy, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, October 27, 1929.

Historical sketch of John H. Sullivan, early Iowa State Representative, by W. C. Collins, in the *Keokuk Gate City*, October 28, 1929.

Reminiscences of Benoni Howard, a pioneer of Grinnell, in the *Grinnell Herald*, October 29, 1929.

Remains of Jefferson Davis's sawmill, in the *West Union Argo-Gazette*, October 30, and the *Decorah Public Opinion*, November 21, 1929.

The first State road through Greene County, in the *Jefferson Bee*, October 30, 1929.

Story of movement of pioneers to Story County, in the *Roland Record*, October 31, 1929.

Pioneer reminiscences by W. C. McNeil, in the *Clayton County Register*, October 31, 1929.

Early history of Farmington, in the *Farmington News-Republican*, October 31, 1929.

- Food and clothing of early pioneers, by Mrs. Lottie Kellow, in the *Cresco Plain Dealer*, November 1, and the *Howard County Times*, November 6, 1929.
- Early history of Sioux Center and West Branch Township, in the *Alton Democrat*, November 1, 1929.
- Story of early days in Dysart, by John Klar, in the *Traer Star-Clipper*, November 1, 1929.
- History of the Church of God at Moneka, in the *Davenport Times*, November 2, 1929.
- Reminiscences of Mrs. Louisa Beetem Irons, pioneer resident of New Albin, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, November 3, 1929.
- Story of the Ottumwa Coal Palace, by J. W. Johnson, in the *Ottumwa Courier*, November 5, 1929.
- Admission of first woman lawyer in Keokuk to the bar, in the *Keokuk Gate City*, November 6, 1929.
- Reminiscences of Mrs. Sarah E. Shirley, pioneer of Zenia, in the *Perry Chief*, November 6, and the *Boone News-Republican*, November 15, 1929.
- History of the Linn Grove Church, in the *Mount Vernon Hawkeye Record* and *The Lisbon Herald*, November 7, 1929.
- Relics of an Arikaree village in Mills County, in the *Glenwood Opinion-Tribune*, November 7, 1929.
- Platting of Madrid in 1851, by C. L. Lucas, in the *Madrid Register-News*, November 7, 1929.
- Anniversary of the Newcomb Memorial Church, in the *Davenport Democrat and Leader*, November 7, 1929.
- School in the early days in Knoxville, in the *Knoxville Express*, November 7, 1929.
- Biographical sketch of Abram Cain, a member of the Manxman society, in the *Bagley Gazette*, November 7, 1929.

- History of the *Keota Courier*, one of the early Keota papers, in the *Keota Eagle*, November 7, 1929.
- History of the churches in Toledo, in the *Toledo Chronicle*, November 7, 1929.
- Story of the cyclone at La Porte in 1888, in the *La Porte City Progress Review*, November 7, 1929.
- Evolution of school in Montour, in the *Toledo Chronicle*, November 7, 1929.
- Golden jubilee of Castle Grove Lutheran Church, by Rev. G. Wolf, in the *Monticello Express*, November 7, 1929.
- Reminiscences of Mrs. Julia Norman, pioneer resident of Davis City, in the *Lamoni Chronicle*, November 7, 1929.
- Early history of Webster City, by Rev. J. T. Nichols, in the *Traer Star-Clipper*, November 8, 1929.
- When golf came to Fairfield, in the *Fairfield Ledger*, November 9, 1929.
- Collection of guns used by pioneers of Iowa, on display at Zoller Hardware Store, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, November 9, 1929.
- History of the Union Pacific Railroad in Council Bluffs, by Andrew McMillen, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, November 9, 23, 1929.
- Stories of the Civil War as recalled by John E. Mitchell, a Union spy, in the *Des Moines Register*, November 10, 1929.
- Historical sketch of James McDonald, a negro slave, in the *Des Moines Register*, November 10, 1929.
- Biographical sketch of Mrs. Mary Miller, first white child born in Clinton County, in the *Clinton Herald*, November 11, 1929.
- Creation of the University of Iowa, by First General Assembly, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, November 11, 18, 1929.

Early days in Des Moines, by Charles S. Denman, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, November 11, 1929.

Constitutional boundaries of Iowa, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, November 12, 1929.

History of St. Donatus, a bit of "Old Europe", in the *Jackson Sentinel*, November 12, 1929.

Anniversary of the Decorah Lutheran Church, in the *Decorah Public Opinion*, November 14, 1929.

Historical sketch of Dr. John C. Bennett, in the *Madrid Register-News*, November 14, 1929.

The early Clayton County bar, by W. C. McNeil, in the *Clayton County Register*, November 14, 1929.

Mining in Cedar County, by G. W. White, in the *Clinton Herald*, November 15, 1929.

Erection of the Henry County courthouse, in the *Mt. Pleasant News*, November 16, and the *Mt. Pleasant Free Press*, November 21, 1929.

History of the Washington College, in the *Washington Evening Journal*, November 16, 1929.

History of the "Green Tree", in the *Davenport Democrat and Leader*, November 17, 1929.

Story of Old Mission Mill in Fayette County, by Blanche M. Beall, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, November 17, and the *West Union Argo-Gazette*, November 20, 1929.

History of Le Claire, by Darrell Doyle, in the *Davenport Democrat and Leader*, November 17, 1929.

Founding of the *Hawkeye*, the annual of the University of Iowa, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, November 18, 1929.

Biographical sketches of the life and work of James W. Good, Iowa's late Secretary of War, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, November 19, the *Davenport Times*, November 19, the *Atlantic*

News-Telegraph, November 19, the *Fort Madison Democrat*, November 19, the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, November 19, the *Des Moines Register*, November 19, the *Daily Iowan*, November 20, the *Cedar Rapids Gazette and Republican*, November 19, 22, 25, and the *Cedar Rapids Tribune*, November 22, 1929.

Dedication of memorial tablet to Ida Smith, first white child born in Ida County, in the *Ida County Pioneer-Record*, November 21, 1929, and the *Battle Creek Times*, November 27, 1929.

Stories of Pocahontas Center, by Byron G. Allen, in the *Pocahontas Democrat*, November 21, 1929.

Naming of Boone, by C. L. Lucas, in the *Madrid Register-News*, November 21, 1929.

Scrap in Fremont County for the county seat between Sidney and Hamburg, in the *Sidney Argus-Herald*, November 21, 1929.

Historical sketch of Dr. Jesse Wassom, founder of La Porte City, in the *La Porte City Progress Review*, November 21, 1929.

Recollection of early days in Manson, by M. W. Fitz, in the *Manson Journal*, November 21, 1929.

Early history of Ringgold County, by Mrs. H. C. Beard, in the *Mount Ayr Record-News*, November 21, 1929.

Historical facts about Delaware County, in the *Manchester Press*, November 21, 1929.

Early criminal record of Van Buren County, in the *Keosauqua Republican*, November 21, 1929.

Pioneer settlers of Marion County, in the *Knoxville Express*, November 21, 1929.

Settlement by Capt. Benjamin W. Clark, in Scott County, by Darrell E. Doyle, in the *Davenport Democrat and Leader*, November 24, 1929.

Historical sketch of Dr. J. B. Hubbell, noted Red Cross worker, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette and Republican*, November 24, 1929.

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Biographical sketch of James Depew Edmundson, in the *Des Moines Register*, November 24, 1929.

Anniversary of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Le Mars, in the *Le Mars Sentinel*, November 26, 1929.

Disappearance of the town of High Lake, in the *Spencer Reporter*, November 27, 1929.

Old settlers' meeting at Cairo in 1882, in the *Wapello Republican*, November 28, and the *Winfield Beacon*, December 5, 1929.

Story of the only legal execution in Van Buren County, in the *Keosauqua Republican*, November 28, 1929.

Founding and history of the Tama County Agricultural Society, in the *Tama News-Herald*, November 28, 1929.

Beginnings and early history of Ladies' Industrial Relief Society of Davenport, by Harry E. Downer, in the *Davenport Times*, November 28, 1929.

Story of Burlington's early post office in the Green Tree house, in the *Burlington Gazette*, November 30, 1929.

An old Valentine, written by Sam A. Russell in 1864, in the *Washington Evening Journal*, November 30, 1929.

Early settlement of Cass County, by R. D. McGeehon, in the *Atlantic News-Telegraph*, December 2, 1929.

Pioneer events in Cerro Gordo County in 1875, by Patsy Collett Black, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, December 2, 1929.

History of Coe College, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, December 3, 1929.

Historical sketch of Harvey Lupton, founder of the *Lenox Time Table*, in the *Lenox Time Table*, December 4, 5, 1929.

Diamond Jubilee of the First Presbyterian Church of Independence, in the *Independence Bulletin-Journal*, December 5, 1929.

Autobiography of Bertha Wasekuk, descendant of Black Hawk, in

the *Tama News-Herald*, December 5, and the *Traer Star-Clipper*, December 20, 1929.

A hunting contest in 1855, by C. L. Lucas, in the *Madrid Register-News*, December 5, 1929.

Recollections of James F. Toy, pioneer financier, in the *Remsen Bell-Enterprise*, December 5, 1929.

History of Arlington Congregational Church, by Clara Latham, in the *Moville Mail*, December 5, 1929.

Early days at Montrose, by J. P. Kennedy, in the *Montrose Journal*, December 5, 12, 1929.

Recollections of the "Old Mill Pond" near Bellevue, by Margaret Campbell, in the *Bellevue Leader*, December 5, 1929.

Settlement of Sturgis Falls, now Cedar Falls, in the *Waterloo Courier*, December 5, 1929.

Printing of Atlantic's first daily newspaper, in the *Atlantic News-Telegraph*, December 5, 1929.

Establishment of the first newspaper in Cass County, in the *Atlantic News-Telegraph*, December 5, 1929.

Biographical sketch of F. D. Arnold, father of retail lumber dealers' associations, in the *Adair News*, December 6, 1929.

Historical sketch of the Little Brown Church, in the *New Hampton Gazette*, December 6, 1929.

Reminiscences of early days in Iowa by Mrs. R. T. McCall, in the *Washington Evening Journal*, December 7, 1929.

Rail fence near Edgewood, in the *Des Moines Register*, December 8, 1929.

Biographical sketch of Mr. and Mrs. George Redington, married for seventy-two years, in the *Des Moines Register*, December 8, 1929.

Locating of Walcott, by Darrell E. Doyle, in the *Davenport Democrat and Leader*, December 8, 1929.

Old house in Black Hawk County, in the *Cedar Falls Record*, December 9, 1929.

Early history of Poweshiek County, in the *Grinnell Herald*, December 10, and the *Brooklyn Chronicle*, December 12, 1929.

Murder trial in Cerro Gordo County in the '70's, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, December 11, 1929.

Christmas in a frontier Iowa settlement, by Cal Ogburn, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, December 12, 1929.

Story of the Catholic school in Cascade, in the *Catholic Messenger*, December 12, 1929.

Incidents relative to the meteorite fall at Estherville in 1879, by P. F. Dawson, in the *Estherville News*, December 12, 1929.

Growing of first apples in Iowa, in the *Knoxville Express*, December 12, 1929.

Mormons in Union County, in the *Lorimor Journal*, December 12, 1929.

Recovery of the old water wheel of Bell's Mill, in the *Dayton Review*, December 12, 1929.

Historical recollections of Ivester Church of the Brethren, in the *Wellsburg Herald*, December 12, 1929.

Biographical sketch of James H. McCleary, Civil War veteran of Galva, in the *Sioux City Journal*, December 12, 1929.

Historical sketch of the Scofield family in Washington, in the *Washington Evening Journal*, December 14, 1929.

Biographical sketch of Myron E. Hinkley, horticulturist and former editor of the *Iowa Homestead*, in the *Des Moines Register*, December 15, and the *Mount Vernon Hawkeye Record and The Lisbon Herald*, December 19, 1929.

Names of Beacon in early days, in the *Oskaloosa Herald*, December 18, 1929.

- Brief history of Hancock, by Mrs. P. G. Wiese, in the *Oakland Acorn*, December 19, 1929.
- The early bar of Clayton County, by W. C. McNeil, in the *Monona Leader*, December 19, 1929.
- History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in De Witt, by Bill Conway, in the *De Witt Observer*, December 19, 1929.
- Story of forgotten towns, in the *Fayette County Union*, December 19, 1929.
- The sixty-third wedding anniversary of Mr. and Mrs. John Zuck, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, December 21, 1929.
- Reminiscences of New Liberty, a German settlement in Scott County, in the *Davenport Democrat and Leader*, December 22, 1929.
- Platting of Maysville by James May in 1854, in the *Davenport Democrat and Leader*, December 22, 1929.
- Story of the steamboat A. J. Dorchester, in the *Bellevue Herald*, December 24, 1929.
- Problems of the pioneer housewife, in the *Mapleton Press*, December 24, 1929.
- Biographical sketch of Wilbur Marsh, in the *Independence Conservative*, December 25, 1929.
- Early days in Cass County, by Mrs. Ida Herbert Taylor, in the *Anita Record*, December 26, and the *Atlantic News-Telegraph*, December 27, 1929.
- History of the Presbyterian Church at Waverly, in the *Waverly Independent-Republican*, December 26, 1929.
- History of Lutheran Church in Randall, in the *Roland Record*, December 26, 1929.
- Wording of the River Land Grant of 1846, by C. L. Lucas, in the *Madrid Register-News*, December 26, 1929.
- Northeastern Iowa in 1858, in the *Hardin County Citizen*, December 26, 1929.

Wool growing in early Iowa, by Cal Ogburn, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, December 26, 1929.

Early history of Madison County, by Charles Edward Hamilton, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, December 26, 1929.

Northwestern Iowa in 1855, by W. A. Greene, in the *Ida County Pioneer-Record*, December 26, 1929.

Daniel Boone's trip touching Iowa, by J. C. Harvey, in the *Centerville Iowegian and Citizen*, December 27, 1929.

Entrance of Iowa into the Union, in the *Carroll Herald*, December 27, and the *Des Moines Register*, December 28, 1929.

Biographical sketch of J. L. Kamrar, in the *Des Moines Register*, December 28, 1929.

Biography of the Rt. Rev. Theodore Nevin Morrison, bishop of the Episcopal diocese of Iowa, in the *Davenport Times*, December 28, and the *Davenport Democrat and Leader*, December 29, 1929.

History of Pleasant Valley, by Darrell E. Doyle, in the *Davenport Democrat and Leader*, December 29, 1929.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The Filson Club was formally installed in its new building at Louisville, Kentucky, on October 8 and 9, 1929.

The fifty-fifth annual meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society was held at Lansing on November 16, 1929. Some revisions were made in the constitution and by-laws of the Society.

A collection of pictures, objects of art, books, and music, belonging formerly to Vinnie Ream Hoxie, has been donated to the Oklahoma Historical Society by General and Mrs. Robert L. Hoxie. It is to be known as the "Vinnie Ream Hoxie Memorial Collection".

Exercises at the laying of the cornerstone of Oklahoma Historical Building were held at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, on November 16, 1929. Addresses were delivered by Governor William J. Holloway, Judge Robert L. Williams, Hon. Thomas H. Doyle, and Hon. Gabe E. Parker.

The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society dedicated a monument to General Anthony Wayne on the Battlefield of Fallen Timbers on September 14, 1929. Following the dedication a banquet was held at Toledo at which James W. Good, Secretary of War, delivered the address.

The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society is offering a prize of one hundred dollars to the person submitting the best unpublished article on Michigan history during the year 1930. The competition is open to any person interested. Manuscripts should be sent to George N. Fuller, Secretary of the Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Michigan, not later than September 1, 1930.

On October 11 and 12, 1929, the Henderson County Historical Society of Henderson, Kentucky, celebrated the unveiling of six bronze tablets commemorating the activities of The Transylvania Company in the settlement of Kentucky. An address, written for this occasion by Archibald Henderson, entitled *The Transylvania*

Company and the Founding of Henderson, Ky., has been printed in booklet form.

An event closely connected with Iowa history was the marking of the site of the rescue of Abbie Gardner (Sharp) from the Sioux Indians near Redfield, South Dakota, on September 5, 1929. The service was sponsored by the D. A. R. Doane Robinson, former South Dakota State historian, was the principal speaker. Abbie Gardner was taken prisoner at the time her family was massacred at Spirit Lake, Iowa, and was rescued by three friendly Indians.

A special meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held at the Joliet Public Library on October 30 and 31, 1929. The program included the following addresses: "Landmarks of the Chicago Portage of the Seventeenth Century", by Lucius H. Zeuch; "Pre-History in Will County", written by George Langford and read by James C. Bell; "New Data on the Life of Shabbona, The Friendly Indian", by W. E. Walsh; "Historical Facts and Objects and Their Permanent Preservation To Mark Progress of Communities", by Elbert Waller; "Unusual Things in County History", by August Maue; "Abraham Lincoln: Land Owner and Investor", by Paul M. Angle; and "Historical Spots, Deep Waterway and City Parks", by Fred Bennitt.

The Minnesota Historical Society held its eighty-first annual meeting at St. Paul on January 13, 1930. The program included the following papers and addresses: "The Progress and Prospects of County Historical Work in Minnesota", by Theodore C. Blegen; "The Problem of Historic Monuments and Markers in Minnesota", by Willoughby M. Babcock; "A Visit to Ath, the Birthplace of Father Hennepin", by Edward C. Gale; "The Functions of a State Historical Society", by Benj. F. Shambaugh; "A Project for the History of Medicine in Minnesota", by John M. Armstrong; and "The Statesman of Democracy — Abraham Lincoln", by Benj. F. Shambaugh.

The eleventh annual Indiana History Conference was held at Indianapolis on December 13 and 14, 1929. Clark Wissler, cur-

ator-in-chief of the Department of Anthropology of the American Museum of Natural History, was the chief speaker, his subject being "The Antiquarian in Contemporary Life". Mrs. W. T. Lafferty spoke on "The Romance of the Ohio". This meeting followed a celebration of the landing of Robert Cavelier Sieur de La Salle and his party at the portage between the St. Joseph and Kankakee rivers two hundred and fifty years ago. This was held at South Bend on December 5 and 6, 1929. At a dinner on this occasion Christopher B. Coleman spoke on "La Salle in America", Charles H. Bartlett on "La Salle in the Valley of the St. Joseph"; and Ross F. Lockridge, on "The Spirit of La Salle". A pageant, "La Salle, the Great Explorer", written by Genevieve Hopkins, was also presented on the evening of the fifth. On the sixth an historical tour was arranged to points of interest in the vicinity.

The American Historical Association held its forty-fourth annual meeting at Durham and Chapel Hill, North Carolina, on December 30 and 31, 1929, and January 1, 1930. Meeting at the same time and place were the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Conference of Historical Societies, the Agricultural History Society, the History of Science Society, and the National Council for Social Studies. The programs included the following papers of interest to Middle Western history students: "Report of Progress in the Investigation of History and Other Social Studies in the Schools", by A. C. Krey; "Opportunities for Research in American Foreign Relations", by Samuel F. Bemis; "Operations for Historical Agencies in the National Archives in Washington", by Newton D. Mereness; "The Archives Department as an Administrative Unit in Government", by Margaret C. Norton; "Legislation Relating to Public Archives and Records in 1929", by George S. Godard, "Report on the Territorial and State Archives of Minnesota", by Donald E. Van Koughnet; "The Content and Scope of American Social History", by Dixon Ryan Fox; "Andrew Jackson, a Century Estimate", by William MacDonald; "F. P. Blair, Journalist", by William E. Smith; "Agricultural History Materials and Their Collection", by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton; "The Rehabilitation of a Rural Commonwealth", by Robert D. W.

Connor; "Social Aspects of Prohibition", by C. Chilton Pearson; "The Great Plains and the American Frontier", by W. P. Webb; and "Aspects of the French Contribution to American Agriculture before 1776", by Arthur H. Hirsch. The presidential address was delivered by James Harvey Robinson at the dinner on December thirtieth. The following officers were chosen for the American Historical Association: Evarts B. Greene, president; Ephraim Douglass Adams, first vice president; Carl L. Becker, second vice president; Dexter Perkins, secretary; and Fairfax Harrison, treasurer.

IOWA

On November 26, 1929, the public school children of Elkader presented a pageant depicting pioneer days in Iowa.

The Woman's Relief Corps at Nashua has placed a boulder and tablet in the city park in honor of the Civil War veterans. It was dedicated on November 11, 1929.

The Historical Society of Marshall County has appointed Miss Ella Mace curator. The Society is planning to mark the site of the Mormon settlement on Mormon Ridge.

The Open Fire Chapter of the D. A. R. has taken action to mark the spot where Greenbury Haggin, the first settler in Hardin County, built his cabin in 1849.

A series of dramatic episodes in Iowa history are being broadcast weekly over radio station WSUI, under the direction of Bruce E. Mahan, director of the Extension Division.

The Worth County Historical Society held its annual meeting at Northwood on October 26, 1929. C. A. Hurd was elected president; Ed Swensrud, vice president; and Paul G. Thorn, secretary-treasurer.

On November 13, 1929, the Cumberland Valley Chapter of the D. A. R. dedicated a bronze tablet to mark the birthplace of Mrs. Ida Smith Ferguson, the first white child born in Ida County, who was born on July 19, 1856.

Plans are being made by the Daughters of Union Veterans to mark the site of Camp Harlan located on the Seeley farm west of Mt. Pleasant. This was a training camp during the Civil War and the Fourth Iowa Cavalry was stationed there for a time.

The city of Burlington is planning a celebration of its one hundredth anniversary in 1933. This section of Iowa was purchased from the Indians after the Black Hawk War and was informally opened to white settlers on June 1, 1833.

A pioneer house built by H. K. Rogers in 1871 has been moved into the city park at Sibley. Mr. Rogers was the first merchant and first postmaster of Sibley. The removal was sponsored by the Girl Reserves.

A monument to the soldiers engaged in all wars of the United States has been erected by the citizens of Plainfield. The monument was made of boulders from the vicinity, under the direction of F. C. Gallagher, and was financed by subscriptions.

The historical committee of the Commercial Club at Cedar Falls is making a collection of photographs of old settlers. It has already received a picture of William Sturgis, the first settler at that place.

Lyon County is making preparations to organize a museum of local history in the rooms in the courthouse formerly assigned to the G. A. R. A committee of interested persons, with O. S. Thomas as chairman, has been selected to promote the collection of material for the museum.

On October 16, 1929, the Daughters of the American Revolution dedicated a boulder to mark the grave of Jacob Wiley, a Revolutionary War soldier buried at Fairfield. The marker was dedicated by Mrs. H. A. Hoopes. C. J. Fulton gave the address and the marker was unveiled by Mrs. A. Atherton, a great granddaughter of Jacob Wiley.

"Iowa, Twenty-Nine" is the title of the pageant presented by the students of Clarke College, Dubuque, on November 22, 23, and

25, 1929, to celebrate the opening of the new auditorium. The first episode represented the coming of Marquette and Joliet in 1673. The scenes also include the settlement by Julien Dubuque, the transfer of Louisiana from France to America, a pioneer meeting at the home of George Wallace Jones, the Indian treaty of 1842, and the admission of Iowa.

The Union County Historical Society held an old settlers' picnic and exhibit at Afton on October 12, 1929. A gavel, made from a rail split by the Mormons in 1846, was presented to T. P. McGowan. Mrs. Ada Miller read an account of the early schools in Union County, and reminiscences of early times, by Lyman Waterman, were read by Mrs. Kenneth Davenport. A collection of relics was on display at the old courthouse building.

On December 22, 1929, the site of the first courthouse in Henry County was marked by a boulder and bronze tablet provided by the James Harlan Chapter of the D. A. R. This is said to be the first courthouse erected in Iowa. The program included a history of the courthouse by Mrs. W. A. Griffith and an address, "Iowa History as a Whole and Henry County in Particular", by Bruce E. Mahan.

A marker for the site of the meteor which fell at Estherville in May, 1879, was dedicated by Okomanpado Chapter of the D. A. R. on October 15, 1929. Judge J. N. Lee, who as a boy had witnessed the fall of the meteor, gave the main address. There were several short talks by other persons who witnessed the phenomenon in 1879. Mrs. James Rainey presented to the State the deed to the land occupied by the marker and it was accepted by E. R. Harlan.

A bronze tablet on the Crane building at Davenport marking the site of the home of Dr. John Emerson, owner of the slave, Dred Scott, was dedicated on October 3, 1929. At this site also were held the first Episcopalian services in Davenport. The marker was provided and the services were sponsored by the Hannah Caldwell Chapter of the D. A. R. Mayor Harold Metcalf accepted the tablet in behalf of the city of Davenport and George E. Collins for the Crane Company.

An historical pageant, "Louisa County, Yesterday and Today", was presented at Wapello on September 27, 1929, at the county homecoming and courthouse dedication. The pageant was arranged by Mrs. H. W. Baker. The four episodes represent the wilderness, the Indians, pioneer days, and modern times, including war scenes.

The October meeting of the Howard County Historical Society was held at Cresco on October 14, 1929. The program included papers by J. N. Smith on early grains and stock, Mrs. J. N. Smith on occupations, Mrs. Kellow on food and clothing, and Mrs. Glass on fruits, flowers, and vegetables. At the meeting held at Cresco on November 11, 1929, the program included a paper, "Early History of Howard County", by Mrs. L. E. Emmons.

Cedar Falls has established what may be called a community historical collection and museum. A paper, by Roger Leavitt, giving a brief history of the town, was published in the *Cedar Falls Record*. As a result of the interest aroused by this historical sketch, the Commercial Club appointed a committee of three men — Roger Leavitt, Le Claire Martin, and S. B. Humbert — to collect early records. The public library furnished a room and the Commercial Club shared the expense of a fire-proof safe. A number of scrap books, photographs, and pictures have already been collected. Among these is a picture of the first settler who came to Cedar Falls in March, 1845.

The second semi-annual meeting of the Iowa Catholic Historical Society was held at St. Ambrose College, Davenport, on November 19, 1929. The program included an address by the president, Judge Martin J. Wade, a presentation of the claims of Julien Dubuque and Basil Giard as the first permanent white settler, by M. M. Hoffmann, and a paper by C. F. Griffith on H. V. Gildea of Davenport. The Society made provision for the publication of a quarterly journal to be known as *The Iowa Catholic Historical Review*. M. M. Hoffmann was named editor-in-chief. The Society has already published two booklets: *The Catholic Sponsors of Iowa*, by M. M. Hoffmann; and *The History of St. Peter's Parish, Keokuk — 1832-1929*, by C. F. Griffith.

When the Estes House, a Civil War hospital at Keokuk, was torn down recently the cornerstone, encased in plate glass, with a bronze tablet attached, was placed as a memorial in the National Cemetery. On October 2, 1929, this was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies. Major General Johnson Hagood, representing the War Department, was the speaker. The bronze tablet was accepted by Oley Nelson for the G. A. R., by J. R. Frailey for the Spanish War veterans, and by Frank M. Fuller for the World War veterans. The marker was unveiled by Marcia Helen Wescott, great granddaughter of J. C. Estes for whom the Estes House was named. On the morning of the same day a tablet, presented by the Auxiliary of the Sons of Veterans, was dedicated at Victory Park, marking the place of embarkation for most of the Iowa regiments in the Civil War. At this dedication Oley Nelson gave the address; and told of the death of his father at the old Estes House hospital. The tablet was presented by Mrs. A. C. Harmon, President of the Auxiliary, and accepted by Mayor Krueger. This was followed by the presentation of a flag staff at the entrance of the park. E. W. McManus gave the dedicatory address.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

On December 28, 1929, Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, was elected president of the American Political Science Association at the annual meeting at New Orleans, Louisiana.

A new series of publications to be known as the *Iowa Monograph Series* has been started by the State Historical Society of Iowa. The first number in this series is *The Legislation of the Forty-third General Assembly of Iowa*, by Jacob A. Swisher.

Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, delivered an address on "Abraham Lincoln, The Statesman of Democracy", at the Friendly House at Davenport on October 14, 1929, and on January 13, 1930, he delivered this address before a meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society. At another session of the same meeting he gave a talk on "The Functions of a State Historical Society".

The State Historical Society of Iowa is coöperating with the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs in preparing for the celebration of the fifth annual Iowa History Week, April 13-19, 1930. The subject selected for this year is "Iowa and the Nation", chosen to call attention to the contributions made by Iowans in the fields of politics, literature, art, diplomacy, business, and other lines of activities.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mr. T. G. Hamilton, Creston, Iowa; Mr. Martin Johnson, Granite, Iowa; Mr. Gerald T. Krohn, Palmer, Iowa; Mr. Sam Raymond, Vinton, Iowa; Mr. Lyle A. Lynn, Iowa City, Iowa; Dr. Loran P. Akers, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Lars A. Larson, Marshalltown, Iowa; Miss Aleta J. Malmberg, Newton, Iowa; Mr. John W. Manning, Cox's Creek, Kentucky; Mr. W. G. Rowley, Cedar Falls, Iowa; Mr. Frank J. Shaw, Emerson, Iowa; Mr. K. P. Vinsel, University, Mississippi; Miss Elsie J. Greenlee, Des Moines, Iowa; Dr. H. G. Langworthy, Dubuque, Iowa; Mr. G. J. Marnette, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. Lola W. Merrick, Marble Rock, Iowa; Dr. J. L. Peppers, Webster City, Iowa; Mr. Clifford D. Ham, Akron, Ohio; Miss Hellen M. Ham, Dubuque, Iowa; Mr. L. O. Leonard, Chicago, Illinois; Mrs. C. G. Pritchard, Buffalo Center, Iowa; and Mr. Harold Tascher, Cedar Falls, Iowa. The following have been enrolled as Life Members: Dr. D. S. Fairchild, Clinton, Iowa; and Mr. George McLean, Dubuque, Iowa.

NOTES AND COMMENT

An historical pageant was one of the attractions at the Harvest Jubilee Week at Des Moines, October 23-26, 1929.

On September 17, 1929, the survivors of the Thirty-fifth Iowa Infantry held a reunion at Muscatine.

The Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints celebrated the fifth anniversary of its organization at Manti, forerunner of Shenandoah, on October 25-27, 1929.

The Tri-County Old Settlers' Association held its annual meeting at Glenwood on September 12, 1929. Old settlers from Mills, Pottawattamie, and Fremont counties joined in this celebration.

The State Conference of the Iowa Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution will be held at Des Moines on March 5-7, 1930. Plans are being made for the compilation of a history of the society down to date.

The thirty-fifth celebration of the old settlers of Seymour was held on September 6 and 7, 1929. Dan Turner delivered an address on Friday afternoon and John S. Stamps spoke on the afternoon of the seventh.

Members of the Woman's Relief Corps and Civil War veterans of Mt. Pleasant, Salem, Keokuk, and Mt. Union held a reunion at Salem on September 18, 1929. Among the items on the program were reminiscences by J. E. Mitchell of his experiences when leaving Salem in 1861. Nine Civil War veterans were present.

The thirty-ninth annual reunion of the Third Iowa Cavalry Association was held on October 2 and 3, 1929, under the auspices of the Woman's Relief Corps. Addresses by J. W. Poole and H. B. Carroll, and reminiscences of the Third Iowa on the battlefield were numbers on the program. Ten veterans of the Third Iowa and four men from other regiments attended the meeting.

The Crocker Brigade held its biennial reunion at Muscatine on September 28, 1929. This brigade included the Eleventh, Thirteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Iowa Infantry. The following officers were reëlected: John Lett, York, Nebraska, president; John T. Lucas, Marshalltown, vice president; and Mrs. Ida H. Warfield, Muscatine, secretary.

The Iowa Library Association held its annual convention at Des Moines on October 14-16, 1929. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: J. Sidney Johnson, Marshalltown, president; Harriett Turner, Des Moines, first vice president; Cornelia Rhynsburger, Muscatine, second vice president; Opal Tanner, Mason City, treasurer; Grace C. Murphy, Des Moines, secretary. A constitution and by-laws were also adopted and it was decided to sponsor a demonstration of county library work in Black Hawk County for 1930.

The annual reunion and picnic of the pioneer settlers of Madison County was held at Winterset on September 2, 1929. C. C. Dowell, Congressman from the seventh district, gave an address. Carl Misseldine spoke of some of the early settlers and their work. There were also a number of talks by former residents of the county. The following officers of the Madison County old settlers' association were elected for the ensuing year: C. A. Robbins, president; W. F. Craig, secretary; and L. V. Price, treasurer.

The Black Hawk County early settlers' association held its annual meeting on August 31, 1929. Addresses were given by J. W. Arbuckle, Roger Leavitt, W. T. Evans, and S. V. Williams. The guest of honor was Mrs. Emily George, sister of Philip C. Hanna, for many years consul general in Mexico. The following officers were elected: George E. Pike, president; Roger Leavitt, vice president; Mrs. H. O. Barton, secretary; Mrs. Belle Harbin, treasurer; and John Tiller, B. Frank Knapp, and John Jacob, executive committee.

An old settlers' program was held at Lamoni on September 13, 1929. Twenty people who had been in the vicinity for fifty years or more were present and there were several reminiscences. Fred-

erick M. Smith of Independence, Missouri, was the speaker of the afternoon, giving as his subject, "Lamoni in Retrospect, Aspect and Prospect".

JAMES WILLIAM GOOD

James W. Good, Secretary of War in the Cabinet of President Herbert Hoover, died at Washington, D. C., on November 19, 1929. He was born on a farm near Cedar Rapids, Iowa, on September 24, 1866. He entered Coe College at Cedar Rapids in 1885, attended the Iowa State College of Agriculture for a time, but returned for the last two years of college work to Coe College from which he was graduated in 1892. Having obtained his law degree from the University of Michigan in 1893, he was at once admitted to the bar and began practice at Indianapolis, Indiana.

After several years in Indiana, Good returned to Cedar Rapids to practice. From 1906 to 1908, he served as city attorney of Cedar Rapids and in 1909 he was elected Representative to Congress from the Fifth District, and was reelected for the succeeding six terms. He is best known for his work as chairman of the Appropriations Committee and as chairman of the special committee which inaugurated the idea of the national budget system. In 1921 Mr. Good resigned from his seat in Congress to enter a law firm in Chicago.

In the presidential campaign in 1928, Mr. Good became the pre-convention manager of the campaign of Herbert Hoover, and after Mr. Hoover's nomination, Mr. Good became the Republican campaign manager for the Middle West. Partly because of this service and partly because of the ability shown in Congress and in his profession, President Hoover selected James W. Good as Secretary of War. Apparently Good had a personal interest in military affairs, for in 1899, as a young attorney at Cedar Rapids, he had enlisted as a private in the Iowa National Guard. His chief interest during his brief service in the Cabinet was the promotion of inland waterways.

CONTRIBUTORS

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN. Born at Dubuque, Iowa, January 30, 1901. Educated in the Dubuque public schools, graduating from the Dubuque High School in 1920. Secretary to the Dubuque postmaster, 1921-1923. Business Secretary of Dubuque Y. M. C. A., 1923-1924. Received the B. A. degree from the University of Dubuque in 1926, and the M. A. degree from the State University of Iowa in 1927. Graduate Assistant at the State University of Iowa from 1926 to 1929 and Fellow in History during 1929-1930. Author of *The "Virginia", the "Clermont" of the Upper Mississippi* in *Minnesota History*, December, 1928, and other articles.

HUBERT E. COLLINS. Born at Boonesboro, Iowa, on March 27, 1872. Educated in the common and high schools of Iowa. Worked as engineer for various manufacturing companies. Consulting engineer in New York City for fifteen years. Instructor in power plant design in the School of Industrial Arts, Columbia University, 1886-1902. Author of various articles on engineering subjects and of the following books: *Warpath and Cattle Trail; Passing of the Range; and Building Code for the City of Utica, N. Y.*



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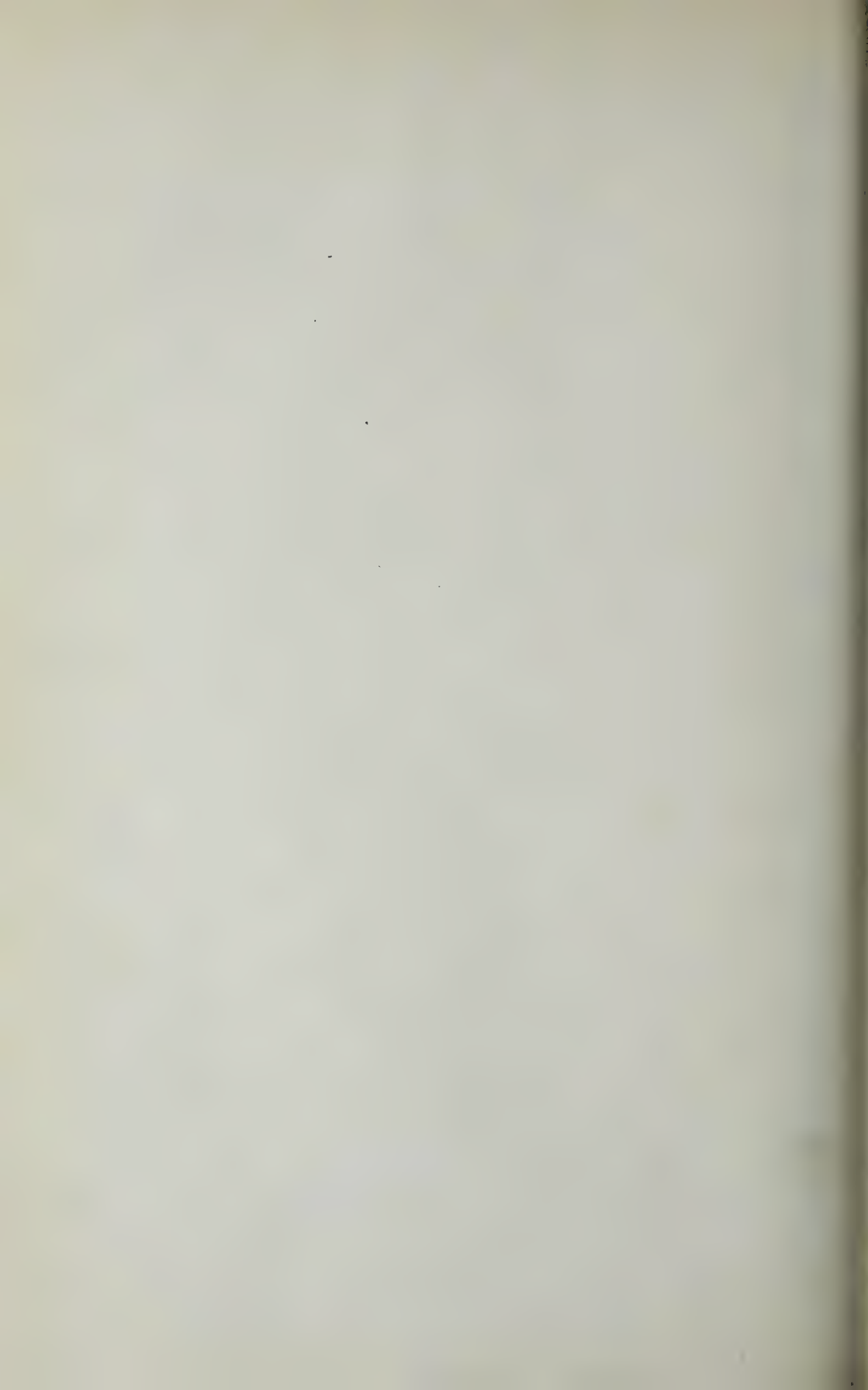
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GELPCKE v. THE CITY OF DUBUQUE

The railroads first entered Iowa in the year 1855. There were two main reasons for the appearance of the railroad at this time: first, the general movement toward westward expansion by means of great transcontinental railroads was generally recognized by the political leaders of the day as a necessary part of the movement toward national solidarity; and second, the farmers demanded quicker methods of transporting their produce to the eastern markets. Towns everywhere vied with one another to secure a favorable routing of the railroads; joining with the farmers, they petitioned Congress that extensive grants-in-aid be made for railroad purposes in the State of Iowa. The city of Dubuque was a constant petitioner in these matters. Of the eleven grants made by Congress for railroad purposes in Iowa, four were for roads which passed through, or had their terminal points in, the city of Dubuque.¹

Grants of land made by Congress to the State of Iowa for purposes of giving aid to the railroads amounted to over 4,800,000 acres. One road, the Dubuque and Pacific Railroad, owned in 1858 "over 7000 Town Lots in the principal towns and villages on the line of the road which at an average value of \$145 amount to over a million of dol-

¹ For the road from Davenport to Council Bluffs see *Laws of Iowa*, 1848-1849, p. 89; Dubuque to Keokuk, *Laws of Iowa*, 1848-1849, p. 100; Iowa Western, *Laws of Iowa*, 1850-1851, p. 127; Dubuque and Keokuk South, *Laws of Iowa*, 1850-1851, p. 202; Dubuque and Keokuk North, *Laws of Iowa*, 1850-1851, p. 129; Davenport and Iowa City, *Laws of Iowa*, 1850-1851, p. 22; Camanche and Council Bluffs, *Laws of Iowa*, 1850-1851, p. 70; Burlington and Keokuk to Missouri River, *Laws of Iowa*, 1852-1853, p. 199; Dubuque to Missouri River, *Laws of Iowa*, 1852-1853, p. 218; McGregor to Missouri River, *Laws of Iowa*, 1852-1853, p. 201; Davenport, Muscatine, and Council Bluffs, *Laws of Iowa*, 1852-1853, p. 214.

lars. Most of the lots were procured by donation. All are held in the name of the Company. No director owns lots at any of the stations."² Dubuque (which boasted a population of 15,956) was the only town of over sixteen hundred inhabitants along the route of the road. This road, however, was reduced to the verge of bankruptcy by the panic of 1857 and by the failure to negotiate a bond issue in England.³

New York bankers and investors were interested in these experiments in the Middle West and this class was represented upon the board of directors of several of the railroads operating from Dubuque. The extensive land grants were probably largely responsible for this interest, although such enterprises were in themselves, for the most part, paying propositions. A New York investor who was very influential in the railroad building from Dubuque toward the West was a man by the name of Herman Gelpcke. He was president of the Dubuque and Pacific Railroad in 1860⁴ and held a mortgage upon the road by virtue of which he acted in the capacity of trustee for that railroad.⁵ Herman Gelpcke also held a mortgage on the Dubuque and Western Railroad and was as well an important stockholder in the company.⁶

The residents of Dubuque were interested in these projects, not only as an investment but also as a means of bringing a greater volume of business to the city. Edward Langworthy and his brother, L. H. Langworthy, were behind most of these projects. L. H. Langworthy was presi-

² *Report of the Dubuque and Pacific Railroad Company*, 1858, p. 6; Brindley's *History of Taxation in Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 8.

³ *Report of the Dubuque and Pacific Railroad Company*, 1858, pp. 12-16.

⁴ *Report of the Dubuque and Pacific Railroad Company*, 1860, p. 2.

⁵ *Report of the Dubuque and Pacific Railroad Company*, 1860, p. 2.

⁶ *The Receipts and Expenditures of the Dubuque Western Railroad*, 1858, p. 18.

dent of the Dubuque Western Railroad in 1858, and Edward Langworthy was treasurer of the same road.⁷ Both, of course, were members of the executive committee. L. H. Langworthy held stock in, and was one of the original members of, the corporation created by the legislature of Iowa in favor of the Dubuque and Pacific Railroad Company.⁸

The case of *Gelpcke v. The City of Dubuque*, decided by the United States Supreme Court in December, 1863, involved the validity of bonds issued by the city of Dubuque for the purchase of stock in the Dubuque Western Railroad. At the time the case came up, the bonds were held by Herman Gelpcke and a number of other New York investors. In order to understand the points at issue, it will be well to give a brief history of the events preceding the hearing of the case. When these bonds were issued the Constitution of 1846 was still in force.

The act incorporating the city of Dubuque, which was adopted on February 24, 1847, contained the usual provisions relating to municipal powers. Section 27 of this act provided: "whenever, in the opinion of the city council, it is expedient to borrow money for any public purpose, the question shall be submitted to the citizens of Dubuque, the nature and object of the loan shall be stated, and a day fixed for the electors of said city to express their wishes; the like notice shall be given as in cases of election, and the loan shall not be made unless two-thirds of all the votes polled at such election shall be given in the affirmative."⁹ This section was amended by an act of January 18, 1851, so "as to empower the city council to levy annually a special

⁷ *The Receipts and Expenditures of the Dubuque Western Railroad*, 1858, p. 1.

⁸ *Articles of Incorporation of the Dubuque and Pacific Railroad Company*, 1855, p. 3.

⁹ *Laws of Iowa*, 1846-1847, p. 114.

tax, to pay the interest on such loans as are authorized" under the section described above.¹⁰

The question of issuing bonds to aid the Dubuque Western Railroad and the Dubuque, St. Peter's and St. Paul Railroad, in amounts up to \$250,000 for each road, was submitted to the electorate of Dubuque in December, 1856, and the proposition carried by the required majority. It appears, however, that there was some question as to the legality of these bonds, for on January 28, 1857, the legislature passed a special act declaring that the bonds issued to aid in the construction of these two railroads, in accordance with the vote of the electors of Dubuque, were legal and valid and the city council was "authorized and required to levy a special tax to meet the principal and interest of said bonds in case it shall become necessary from the failure of funds from other sources."¹¹

The bonds issued for the benefit of the Dubuque Western Railroad bore the date of July 1, 1857, and were payable to Edward Langworthy, the treasurer of the Dubuque Western Railroad, or bearer, twenty years from date. The bonds were "given for and in consideration of" stock in the Dubuque Western Railroad. Both bonds and interest were to be payable at the Metropolitan Bank in New York City.

At the time the bonds were issued there seems to have been no serious question as to their validity. Previous to June, 1862, it appears that the Iowa Supreme Court had rendered seven decisions on the validity of bonds issued under circumstances similar to those affecting the Dubuque bonds.¹² These decisions were in conformity with the deci-

¹⁰ *Laws of Iowa*, 1850-1851, p. 46.

¹¹ *Laws of Iowa*, 1856-1857, pp. 339, 340.

¹² *Dubuque County v. The Dubuque and Pacific R. R. Co.*, 4 Iowa (Greene) 1; *State of Iowa v. Bissell*, 4 Iowa (Greene) 328; *Clapp v. Cedar County*, 5 Iowa 15; *Ring v. Johnson County*, 6 Iowa 265; *McMillen v. Boyles*, 6 Iowa 304; *McMillen v. Lee County*, 6 Iowa 391; *Games v. Robb*, 8 Iowa 193.

sions in sixteen other States of the Union.¹³ Thus it appears that when Herman Gelpcke and others became the owners of these Dubuque bonds, they had every reason to suppose that the bonds were a good investment, authorized by the State legislature, approved by a vote of the people of the municipality, and apparently recognized as valid by decisions of the State Supreme Court.

About this time, however, the Iowa Supreme Court handed down a decision in June, 1862, which reversed its previous rulings in regard to the validity of bonds issued by counties and municipalities for the purpose of aiding public improvements. The case—the State of Iowa *v.* Wapello County¹⁴—involved the obligation of a county to issue bonds after the question had been voted on affirmatively by the electors. In this case the Iowa Supreme Court declared that the State legislature had no legal right to authorize counties or municipalities to issue bonds for such public improvements as railroads, especially when the money was largely spent outside the limits of the tax district concerned.

If the legislature had no authority to authorize such bonds, then the Dubuque bonds were worthless. The bondholders, however, were by no means willing to concede this point, and, indeed, the circumstances were not the same as in the Wapello County case. When the Dubuque officials refused or failed to pay the interest coupons on the bonds, Gelpcke and his associates brought suit in the Federal District Court against the city of Dubuque. The fact that they were citizens of a different State, of course, gave them the opportunity to sue in the Federal Court. The suit was for the amount of the coupons on which the city had defaulted, together with interest at the New York rate from the date

¹³ *Gelpcke v. The City of Dubuque*, 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175, at 190, 206.

¹⁴ 13 Iowa 388.

of their maturity and the cost of exchange on the city of New York.¹⁵

The District Court held that the bonds were invalid since they were not authorized under the Constitution. In this interpretation the Federal Court agreed with the latest ruling of the Iowa Supreme Court. The case (there were really three separate cases) was appealed to the United States Supreme Court on a writ of error. The question at issue was whether the Federal Court should decide the case independent of the rulings of the Iowa Supreme Court, follow the latest pronouncement of the Iowa tribunal, or base its decision on the earlier and more numerous decisions of the Iowa Court.

Existing conditions were played upon by the counsel for Gelpcke, who argued that the national judiciary was supreme and could interpret, independently of the latest settled adjudications of the State courts, cases involving questions such as were brought up here. Coming at a time when the doctrine of "States' Rights" was a vital political issue, this argument must have had a strong influence upon the Federal Court. The Court claimed that this was not the question at bar but the direct effect of the decision might justify classing this case as among the greatest in settling the relationship existing between the State and Federal judiciary. It was decided in favor of the Federal supremacy at a period in our history when that supremacy was being seriously threatened by the success of Southern arms on the field of conflict.¹⁶

A comparison of the decision of the Supreme Court of Iowa in the case of the State of Iowa *v.* Wapello County¹⁷

¹⁵ *Gelpcke v. The City of Dubuque*, 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175, at 178.

¹⁶ *Gelpcke v. The City of Dubuque*; *Federal and State Decisions* in Thayer's *Legal Essays*, pp. 141-152.

¹⁷ *The State of Iowa v. Wapello County*, 13 Iowa 388.

and the argument of the legal representatives of Dubuque¹⁸ before the Supreme Court of the United States in the case under consideration shows how closely the argument of the city of Dubuque followed the opinion of the Iowa tribunal.

The point before the court for decision was: "Whether a subscription to an extra-territorial railway,—made by a city corporation under authority of an act of the legislature,—is valid under the *Constitution and decisions of the State of Iowa?*"¹⁹

The argument of the counsel for the city took up six main points. In the first place, it was conceded that a municipal corporation had no power by virtue of its ordinary charter to make a subscription of bonds for railroad stock. If this power existed at all, it came only from legislation directly authorizing it. But the legislature of the State of Iowa was not omnipotent as is the English Parliament. One of the limitations upon the legislature is that it can not take property, even for a public purpose, without *just compensation*. The argument continued with a statement to the effect that what the legislature could not do by command it could not do by taxation. But property is taken by taxation: therefore, argued the counsel, these taxes must be *just*. He held that a just tax could be defined as follows:

In regard to a man's property taken by tax and applied to purposes purely local and about him, he gets the just recompense, by the application itself. Where the application is to purposes of a wider and more public kind,—for the purposes of his State, or the United States,—he gets a just recompense, provided all others are taxed *proportionably* with him. But just in so far as he is taxed *above* them, he gets no just recompense at all.²⁰

¹⁸ Gelpcke v. The City of Dubuque, 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175, at 191-202.

¹⁹ Gelpcke v. The City of Dubuque, 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175, at 191.

²⁰ Gelpcke v. The City of Dubuque, 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175, at 192.

In the second place, the counsel for the city drew a distinction between private and public corporations which was intended to bring out the point that public corporations were made by the legislature for the purpose of carrying out governmental powers. The counsel then showed, so he thought, that an enterprise such as was under consideration was not governmental in scope and, hence, unwilling members of an involuntary corporation would have their property taken from them by taxation for purposes outside those expressed in the charter of the corporation.

Third, the counsel presented the constitutional limitations upon the power of the legislature in passing such an enabling act as was referred to above. He held, under this point, that Art. I, Sec. 6, of the Constitution of the State of Iowa, 1846, under which this controversy arose, was violated. Does a law have a uniform operation, he asked, when the cost of a railroad "is laid on the people living at one terminus, all those along its line being exempt?"²¹ His answer, obviously, was no! The counsel argued that Art. III, Sec. 1, of the State Constitution of 1846 had also been violated. The legislature was not authorized to delegate its powers; but, he asked, "is it not delegated when, by statute, you give a city power to legislate in a manner, which, but for the statute, it confessedly would not have?"²²

The defendant city also argued that the purpose for which the municipality had been given this corporate power of buying stock in a railroad was neither a political nor a municipal purpose and hence the act was in violation of Art. IX, Sec. 2, of the State Constitution.²³ The counsel

²¹ *Gelpeke v. The City of Dubuque*, 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175, at 193. The Constitution of Iowa, Art. I, Sec. 6, provides that all laws of a general nature shall have a uniform operation.

193.

²³ *Gelpeke v. The City of Dubuque*, 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175, at 194.

further held that the State had become indirectly a stockholder in a corporation by allowing, by statute, a political unit of the State to become a stockholder. This, the counsel argued, was contrary to the Constitution.²⁴

In the fourth place, the counsel for the defendant argued that the decisions relied upon by the plaintiff were based upon other grounds than was the case before the Iowa Court. Cases quoted from Tennessee, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Florida were not applicable because of differences in the Constitutions of these States.²⁵ He concluded this portion of his argument with the statement: "In many of the decisions, the courts seem to have been imbued with the frenzy of the day, and to have lost sight of the well-defined distinction between the powers and liabilities of municipal and private corporations."²⁶

The fifth argument was that the decision of the Supreme Court of Iowa in the State of Iowa *v. Wapello County*²⁷ represented the latest settled decision of the State Court. The sixth point made was a discussion of the question whether the Constitution and laws of a State were to be construed by the State courts of other States, or by the State's own courts.

All of the four major points considered in the decision of the Iowa Court in the case of the State of Iowa *v. Wapello County*²⁸ were relied upon by the counsel for the city in *Gelpcke v. The City of Dubuque*.²⁹ The Supreme Court of

²⁴ *Gelpcke v. The City of Dubuque*, 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175, at 194.

²⁵ *Gelpcke v. The City of Dubuque*, 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175, at 194-197.

²⁶ *Gelpcke v. The City of Dubuque*, 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175, at 197.

²⁷ 13 Iowa 388.

²⁸ 13 Iowa 388.

²⁹ 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175.

Iowa examined the cases which had previously been decided in the State and came to the conclusion that the questions presented had never been *definitely* settled prior to this case. They thought that this gave them a basis for reversing their former decisions regardless of the hardships which this might bring upon investors. Cases which had arisen in other States were examined. The Court decided, however, that these cases had not reached "conclusions that are satisfactory to the inquiries and consciousness of the public heart."³⁰ (This position was also held by Associate Justice Samuel F. Miller dissenting in the Gelpcke case.)

The Court then proceeded to an examination of the constitutional provisions which the county claimed were violated by the enabling act of the legislature of the State. Approximately the same conclusions were reached by the Supreme Court of Iowa as were set forth by the counsel for the city in the case under consideration.³¹ But the Supreme Court of Iowa probed into the history of the act which was supposed to have given Wapello County power to issue these bonds, and found that the intent of the legislature was not to give this power of subscribing "*to any work of internal improvement*,"³² but just to certain "public" improvements. If it was not the intent of the legislature to give this power, then, said the Court, it would not interpret the act as giving this power to the county. The third argument of the Court relied upon by the counsel for the city in the case we are considering was the difference between private and public corporations. It was pointed out that the distribution of the tax must be a just one.

In drafting the decision in the case of *Gelpcke v. Dubuque*, rendered in December, 1863, Mr. Justice Noah H.

³⁰ *State of Iowa v. Wapello County*, 13 Iowa 388, at 394.

³¹ 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175.

³² *State of Iowa v. Wapello County*, 13 Iowa 388, at 397.

Swayne stated the problem of the case in a few terse words: "The whole case resolves itself into a question of the power of the city to issue bonds for the purpose stated."³³ Technically this point of view is correct, but the larger question involved was, as stated by the counsel for Gelpcke, "a question as to the number and relative weight of decisions of the Supreme Court of Iowa alone, and in its own constitution and statutes; a settlement of the balance on an account domestic simply."³⁴

The Supreme Court of the State of Iowa had decided that counties and municipalities did not have the power to issue the bonds in question. It had given this decision despite its former decisions regarding a similar power on the part of the counties. As has been pointed out, very strong reasons for reversing its former decisions were presented by the State Court. The matter was purely that of interpretation of the State statutes and the State Constitution. It was a domestic affair. The argument for the city plainly points out that the case was one of local application. To this argument was added the broad principle of constitutional law — the Supreme Court of the United States will usually follow the latest settled adjudications of a State Supreme Court in matters relating to the construction of a statute of a State.³⁵ In spite of these arguments, the United States Supreme Court decided that the issue of such bonds was legal and reversed the decision of the Federal District Court. Why? This question was not definitely answered one way or the other by the United States Supreme Court. In refusing to accept the last judgment of the Iowa Court, the Federal Supreme Court did not base

³³ Gelpcke v. The City of Dubuque, 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175, at 202.

³⁴ Gelpcke v. The City of Dubuque, 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175, at 179.

³⁵ Willoughby's *Constitutional Law of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 1028.

this refusal upon the ground that the decision was unsettled. After quoting from *Leffingwell v. Warren*³⁶ to the effect that the Federal Court would follow the latest "settled" adjudication of the State Court, the Court said: "Whether the judgment in question can, under the circumstances, be deemed to come within that category, it is not now necessary to determine."³⁷ The District Court was reversed on the grounds that the decision of the State Supreme Court in the State of Iowa *v. Wapello County*³⁸ impaired contracts which had been entered into prior to the decision. Thus the court applied the rule to judicial decisions which is usually applicable only to legislative acts.³⁹ It further held: "However we may regard the late case in Iowa as affecting the future, it can have no effect upon the past."⁴⁰ If the contract, when made, was valid by the laws of the State as then expounded by the various departments, its validity can not be changed by subsequent decisions of the courts in which they reverse themselves.⁴¹

We find no decision given on the point mainly relied upon by the counsel for Gelpcke: namely, the relative merits of the various decisions of the Supreme Court of Iowa. The earlier and later holdings of the State Supreme Court are not passed upon as an abstract proposition, but they are, in effect, definitely decided. A decision of the highest tribunal of a sovereign State is put in the same class as an ordinary

³⁶ 67 United States (2 Black) 599.

³⁷ *Gelpcke v. The City of Dubuque*, 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175, at 205.

³⁸ 13 Iowa 388.

³⁹ Willoughby's *Constitutional Law of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 923; *Tidal Oil Company v. Clanagan*, 263 United States 444.

⁴⁰ *Gelpcke v. The City of Dubuque*, 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175, at 206.

⁴¹ *Gelpcke v. The City of Dubuque*, 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175, at 206.

statute conflicting with the Federal Constitution. Without definitely stating it in the opinion, and without using the usual method of *obiter dicta*, the United States Court held that it need not follow the latest settled interpretation of a State Supreme Court even in matters which relate to purely local affairs.

Contract rights acquired under a law which had been declared constitutional by the State courts will be protected by the Federal courts from impairment by later decisions of the State courts declaring them unconstitutional, when the case is brought into the Federal courts because of the diversity of citizenship of the parties litigant. The rule of contracts, as stated above, has been followed by the Supreme Court and may now be regarded as a settled one.⁴²

In one case, the United States Supreme Court declared: "An unconstitutional act is not a law; it confers no rights; it imposes no duties; it affords no protection; it creates no office; it is, in legal contemplation, as inoperative as though it had never been passed".⁴³ This rule, however, was not followed in the case of *Gelpcke v. Dubuque*.⁴⁴ W. W. Willoughby is of the opinion that the exception to the general rule made in this case was "an illogical and ill-considered one".⁴⁵

How did the Supreme Court of the United States decide that the city of Dubuque had the power to issue the bonds in question when the Supreme Court of Iowa had decided otherwise? It relied upon the former decision of the Supreme Court of Iowa, saying: "It cannot be expected that

⁴² *Havemeyer v. Iowa County*, 70 United States (3 Wallace) 294; *Butz v. Muscatine*, 75 United States (8 Wallace) 575; *Pleasant Township v. Aetna Life Insurance Company*, 138 United States 67; *Folsom v. Township Ninety-Six*, 159 United States 611; *Stanly County v. Coler*, 190 United States 437.

⁴³ *Norton v. Shelby County*, 118 United States 425, at 442.

⁴⁴ 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175.

⁴⁵ Willoughby's *Constitutional Law of the United States*, Vol. I, p. 10.

this court will follow every such oscillation, from whatever cause arising, that may possibly occur. The earlier decisions, we think, are sustained by reason and authority. They are in harmony with the adjudications of sixteen States of the Union.”⁴⁶

On all points involved the court followed the doctrine of *stare decisis* with the exceptions of comity (Federal and State) and contracts.⁴⁷

Associate Justice Samuel F. Miller, one of the ablest of the men who have been appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States, dissented from the opinion of the majority. Justice Miller was an Iowa man at the time of his appointment by President Lincoln. More decisions concerning constitutional law were rendered by him, during his term of office, it is said, than had previously been rendered by the Court during the whole period of its existence. Justice Miller was a man of straight and logical thinking capacity. His dissenting opinion in this case is exceptionally clear and logical.⁴⁸

In the first place, said Justice Miller, this decision gives us “two courts, sitting within the same jurisdiction, deciding upon the same rights, arising out of the same statute, yet always arriving at opposite results, with no common arbiter of their differences. There is no hope of avoiding this, if this court adheres to its ruling. For there is in this court no power, in this class of cases, to issue its writ of error to the State court, and thus compel a uniformity of construction, because it is not pretended that either the statute of Iowa, or its Constitution, or the decision of its

⁴⁶ *Gelpeke v. The City of Dubuque*, 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175, at 205, 206.

⁴⁷ The court ruled on: points of action; evidence; municipal bonds; municipal powers; comity, State and Federal; contracts; statutes; and negotiable instruments.

⁴⁸ Gregory's *Samuel Freeman Miller*, pp. 17, 18.

courts thereon, are in conflict with the Constitution of the United States, or any law or treaty made under it.”⁴⁹

Continuing, the Associate Justice said: “I apprehend that none of my brethren who concur in the opinion just delivered, would go so far as to say that the inferior State courts would have a right to disregard the decision of their own appellate court, and give judgment that the bonds were valid. Such a course would be as useless, as it would be destructive of all judicial subordination.”⁵⁰

Justice Miller held, in the second place, that the Court, in the decision from which he was dissenting, had broken with a well-established principle. The interpretation of a State statute is as much a part of the statute as the text itself. The Associate Justice pointed out that there had been cases where the Supreme Court of the United States had reversed itself by following the rule of latest settled adjudications of the State Court in regard to State statutes.⁵¹

The third point brought up by Justice Miller was that the Court was not called upon to decide whether there had been an infringement of an obligation of contract by the decision of the lower court, but was called upon to decide whether a contract had ever been made or not. This, said Miller, had been decided by the Supreme Court of Iowa in several decisions. The Supreme Court of the United States should follow the State Court in declaring the bonds void. As a parting thrust, Justice Miller added that the United States Supreme Court was not called upon to “retract any decision it had ever made” in upholding the District Court in accept-

⁴⁹ *Gelpcke v. The City of Dubuque*, 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175, at 209.

⁵⁰ *Gelpcke v. The City of Dubuque*, 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175, at 208.

⁵¹ *United States v. Morrison*, 29 United States (4 Peters) 124; *Patton v. Easton*, 14 United States (1 Wheaton) 476; *Powell v. Harman*, 27 United States (2 Peters) 241; *Leffingwell v. Warren*, 67 United States (2 Black) 599.

ing the interpretation given by the State Supreme Court, but rather the Court was called upon to uphold a long recognized principle of American constitutional law.

Justice Miller then proceeded to an examination of the cases relied upon by the Supreme Court as showing an oscillating attitude on the part of the Supreme Court of the State of Iowa. Justice Miller pointed out the fact that in all of the seven decisions preceding the State of Iowa *v.* Wapello County⁵² the State Court felt bound to follow the doctrine of *stare decisis* despite doubts concerning the validity of the bonds issued by counties for the purpose of aiding in the construction of railroads. In bringing this fact to the front, Miller was arguing that the latest decision of the Supreme Court of Iowa, which the Supreme Court of the United States was directing its subordinate courts to disregard, was the latest settled adjudication of the problems involved rather than those cases upon which the Supreme Court relied.

He concluded his opinion with his characteristic clear-sightedness and firmness: "I think I have sustained, by this examination of the cases, the assertion made in the commencement of this opinion, that the court has, in this case, taken a step in advance of anything heretofore decided by it on this subject. That advance is in the direction of a usurpation of the right, which belongs to the State courts, to decide as a finality upon the construction of State constitutions and State statutes. This invasion is made in a case where there is no pretense that the constitution, as thus construed, is any infraction of the laws or Constitution of the United States."⁵³

Associate Justice Miller accepted rather completely the

⁵² 13 Iowa 388.

⁵³ *Gelpeke v. The City of Dubuque*, 68 United States (1 Wallace) 175, at 219 and 220.

arguments of the counsel for the city of Dubuque and the decision of the Supreme Court of Iowa in the State of Iowa *v. Wapello County*.⁵⁴ He forcibly argued their cause in his dissenting opinion. Such a dissenting opinion from the pen of a northern judge must have brought joy to the hearts of the champions of the "States' Rights" school.

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⁵⁴ 13 Iowa 388.

THE JOURNAL AND LETTERS OF CORPORAL WILLIAM O. GULICK

[This is the first installment of *The Journal and Letters of Corporal William O. Gulick*. The introduction and the notes were prepared in 1927 by Max Hendricks Guyer who has carefully edited the journal and letters. The original spelling and punctuation have been retained.—THE EDITOR.]

INTRODUCTION

Early in the fall of 1926, Robert Fellingham Blythe of Boone, Iowa, presented to Dr. Louis Pelzer, of the Department of History of the State University of Iowa, a mass of correspondence, together with a diary, which had been written by Mr. Blythe's great-uncle, William O. Gulick, during the latter's service in the Union army. Since these writings frequently describe a phase of the Civil War that, in comparison with operations in the eastern field, has been given small attention by historians, they seemed worthy of further research and verification.

William O. Gulick, the writer of this diary and collection of letters, was born in Erie County, New York, a few miles from Buffalo, about eighteen years before the outbreak of the Civil War. His father (also named William) and his uncle, Abraham Gulick, were farmers in the same neighborhood. Upon the death of his father, the elder William Gulick moved with his family to Iowa, and after the death of their mother Abraham followed with his family. They homesteaded about halfway between Low Moor and Camanche, in Clinton County, Iowa, supplementing their farming with blacksmithing as a seasonal employment.

William Gulick had four daughters and three sons. The oldest daughter, Lorrette, married a certain Peter Schuyler in New York State before the family migrated to Iowa. The other daughters married men of the Low Moor neigh-

borhood: Sarah Jane Gulick married Richard Wagner; Emma V. Gulick became the wife of George Harris; and Cynthia Gulick wedded Charles Jones. The sons in order of age were Henry, Parkes, and William O. William O., the youngest son and the author of this material, enlisted in Company M, First Regiment, Iowa Cavalry Volunteers, on September 2, 1861. He died in the service under circumstances explained later.

Abraham Gulick had four sons, Isaac, William, Cornelius, and Edward, and one daughter, Mattie. Following the war Abraham and his wife moved to State Center, Marshall County, Iowa. Isaac, who had served in Company B of the First Iowa Cavalry throughout the war, went with them. At last reports he was still living at State Center. Isaac is frequently mentioned in William's letters, as their respective companies were together much of the time.

The First Regiment, Iowa Cavalry Volunteers, was organized under President Lincoln's proclamation of May 3, 1861. Burlington was designated as the general rendezvous and the companies were ordered into quarters there by Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood on July 18, 1861, with the exception of Company M, which went into quarters at Camp McClellan (Davenport) on September 2nd, was mustered into service on September 12th, and was then dispatched down the river to join the other companies at Burlington. The addition of Companies L and M to the regiment was made possible by an act of Congress approved on July 29, 1861, which increased the number of companies in a cavalry regiment from ten to twelve.¹ The original number of officers and men in the regiment was 1035. This was increased by additional enlistments to 1245. The first headquarters of the regiment (at Burlington) was named Camp Warren, for Fitz Henry Warren, its first colonel.

¹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XII, Ch. 24. Sec. 1, p. 279.

The rules governing the army at this time permitted personal ownership of horses by the officers and men of the cavalry. The men of the First Iowa Cavalry preferred to bring their own mounts with them from home, and the Federal government allowed ample pay for the use and risk of the animals. In this way the Iowa men were able to secure a better average quality and value of horses than those usually supplied to the cavalry regiments of the regular army. That considerable horse-trading—that classic sport of *give-and-take*—was carried on within the regiment during the war, is indicated by William O. Gulick's occasional comments on this practice.

But little drill in the rudiments of cavalry service was received at Burlington, for six companies of the regiment were moved to Benton Barracks, St. Louis, in the first days of October, 1861, and two days later they were joined by four other companies. Companies L and M were detained at Burlington waiting for uniforms and horse equipment, and did not arrive at St. Louis until October 17, 1861. Although one battalion of the regiment, in charge of Captain W. E. Leffingwell of Company B, was assigned to duty in southwest Missouri on the 18th of October, the entire regiment was not brought into active duty at the front until March, 1862.

The delay of the Federal government in getting its cavalry forces into action was due to the difficulty of procuring proper arms. The First Iowa Cavalry was at first equipped only with revolvers and sabers. With such weapons it was necessary to engage the enemy at close quarters to secure effective results. For several months the men were insufficiently provided with carbines, which were absolutely essential when fighting the enemy at a distance.

The first year of the war witnessed a chaotic state of affairs in Missouri. Being by far the largest of the four

border slave States that had failed to join the Confederacy, Missouri was most bitterly contested by the rival factions. It is not unlikely that in the early days of the war an actual majority of the people of Missouri were for secession; but the Union faction, being strongest in and around St. Louis, controlled the State arsenal and militia, and held the State in the Union by main strength until Federal troops arrived.

The rebel Governor, Claiborne F. Jackson, together with the secessionist majority in the State legislature, was ousted from Jefferson City and driven behind the Confederate lines in the summer of 1861. Repeated attempts were made by the regular Confederate forces in the succeeding three years under various leaders — the most notable of whom was Major General Sterling Price — to reconquer the State by invasion; but these open attacks did not constitute nearly so serious a problem for the Union military administration as the protection of loyal citizens from outrage and murder at the hands of Confederate sympathizers.

Lawless bands, led by notorious outlaws such as W. C. Quantrill, Jesse James, and Frank James, maintained a sporadic guerrilla warfare in Missouri throughout most of the war. Alternately shooting at Union troops from ambush, and robbing and murdering loyal civilians, they were without direct responsibility to the Confederate government at Richmond, yet they doubtless increased the reign of retribution which the South was later to suffer from invasions by Sherman and others.

These rebel guerrilla bands, well mounted and armed, could only be dealt with by cavalry; and the First Iowa was among the regiments assigned to this task. Captain Samuel S. Burdett of Company B, later Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, is quoted as saying that this service required "the highest in the soldierly and patriotic qualities of patience, fortitude, unflinching courage,

and supreme devotion to a cause. Every hardship known to war fell to our lot. . . . Our battlefields were in the byways and waste places, where the human foxes we followed had their holes. Our marches were often in the night time, for from every hill top, and sometimes from the tree tops, looked out a watcher to note our progress and fix the ambush. And though compelled to this duty, we were left without proper arms, and for two-thirds of our term of enlistment were not so well armed for the business we were engaged in as were the enemies we followed."²

Except for participation in two brilliant exploits — the capture of Van Buren, Arkansas, in December, 1862, and the campaign which ended in the capture of Little Rock, on September 10, 1863 — the work of the First Iowa Cavalry was as described above for the first three years of the war; and the series of letters and journal entries included in this collection covers only the first two. In the last year of the war the regiment was sent into Tennessee and thence into Louisiana. For nearly a year after the close of hostilities it formed a part of the "army of occupation" in Texas, being mustered out at Austin on the 15th of February, 1866.

William O. Gulick met his death in the course of the drive on Little Rock. On the 18th of August, 1863, Brigadier Generals Steele and Davidson formed a junction at Clarendon, on the White River, and began pushing steadily toward the Arkansas capital from the northeast. The cavalry division arrived at Brownsville, Arkansas, some fifty miles northeast of Little Rock, on the 25th of August, driving the Confederates to their camp across Bayou Metoe. Two days later a sharp engagement took place at the bridge across the Bayou.

² *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. IV, pp. 4, 5.

The First Iowa Cavalry drove the Confederates to the end of the bridge in the face of a terrific artillery and musket fire, and vainly attempted to save the bridge, but it was burned by the Confederates. In this struggle the regiment sustained its heaviest loss for any single engagement — thirty-seven killed and wounded. Among the wounded was Corporal Gulick; he was promptly taken to the neighboring town of Brownsville, where it was found necessary to amputate one leg. On the 4th of September, 1863, he died from the effects of the operation. He is buried in the National Cemetery at Little Rock, Section 11, Grave 17. The two concluding letters of this series, written by his friend Fred Wilkes to two of Gulick's sisters, give a good account of the circumstances leading up to his death and thus are an appropriate conclusion to the series.

The series of letters consists of the two mentioned above, one written jointly by Gulick and Wilkes, and forty-two written by Gulick himself. A circular letter to the troops by Brigadier General F. J. Herron, congratulating them on their great victory at Prairie Grove, Arkansas, was also found among the letters and is included. Interspersed among the letters, in chronological order, will be found the entries of the journal. It seemed best to arrange the material in this manner in order to give the reader a continuous narrative rather than an isolated diary, since the diary so often supplements the letters with valuable explanatory material. The original journal is a cloth-bound volume of 115 pages, closely written in ink and still quite legible. Even the letters are yet in fair condition. The first letter bears the date, September 15, 1861; the last (by Wilkes) is dated September 22, 1863. The journal begins on December 25, 1861, and ends on November 12, 1862.

The journal and letters of Gulick should prove of interest, not only to the historian whose study is the details of

military operations in Missouri and Arkansas, but also to the reader who is curious concerning the life of the common soldier: what he ate and wore; how he spent his spare time; and what his attitude was toward the cause for which he was fighting.

The standard histories of the Civil War are written from the viewpoint of the rulers, the Secretaries of War, the generals, and the admirals. This is necessary to give the background and broad significance of armed conflicts. But the human side of war will never be fully presented until the private soldier and the non-commissioned officer come into their own in the writing of military history.

It is particularly fitting that this contribution to the untold side of war should come from a soldier of the type of William O. Gulick. Although he never attained a higher rank than corporal, he is revealed by his letters as a man diligent in the performance of his duty, although at times resentful (with some cause) of the overbearing attitude of certain officers; more chivalrous than the average soldier in his conduct toward non-combatants of the opposite side; and not only thoroughly loyal to the Union cause but clearly understanding why he fought for it. The letters and diary, except for occasional mis-spelling, are well constructed, and show a command of English and a reasoning power that would do credit to many of more mature years and better education.

The editor has found Rhodes's *History of the Civil War* and Headley's *The Great Rebellion* of value for the general background of the struggle and in illustrating the official and military viewpoints. The *Official Records: War of the Rebellion*, compiled and published by the War Department, and *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, a collection of writings by leading officers of both the Union and Confederate armies, proved indispensable in locating and verifying

the battles and skirmishes mentioned in the letters and journal. Surgeon Charles H. Lothrop's *A History of the First Regiment Iowa Cavalry Veteran Volunteers* and Vol. IV of the *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion* supplied details concerning the operations of the First Iowa Cavalry, as well as its individual members.

The editor wishes to acknowledge his gratitude to Robert F. Blythe for his valuable assistance in verifying details of Corporal Gulick's family history, and to Professor Louis Pelzer for his kind and understanding advice.

MAX HENDRICKS GUYER

Camp Warren, Sept. 15th, 1861

Dear Friends:

It is now a little more than a week since I was with you, Although it is but a short time It seems to me about a month. I have seen so many strange and new things in moveing about and liveing as I have that although I am not homesick the time when I look back upon it seems long. You may think strange my writing with a ledpencil but it is so much handier as I am siting on the ground with a board on my lap. I had a letter written to send home, when John³ came down to Davenport and as I did not know when we would leave there and I thought John could carry all the news I did not send it, I suppose John told you all about our camp at Davenport, well it is much better than it is here for here we have nothing but tents. They are smaller than the one we had [illegible], and Thirteen have to mess and sleep in two of them. The first thing may be you would like to know is about my traveling after I left home &s (I did not have time to tell John much) About one

³ John Schuyler was the oldest son of Peter and Lorrette Schuyler and therefore was William's nephew although he was about the same age. He later enlisted and died in camp.

oclock I left Lyons⁴ and after a pleasant trip of five hours arrived at Davenport or Camp McClellan⁵ which as John will tell you is very pleasantly situated. There was preaching at Camp Mc.C. evry Sunday I attended and heard a good discourse by Bishop Lee⁶ first Sunday after I left home, I bought me a Bible and some medicine at D. The morning after John stayed with us we were ordered to get ready to move from camp in one hour. We were told it was to go to Burlington In less than half that time every one was ready to march for the boat, We were taken in front of the Burtis House⁷ at Davenport and sworn in servise of U. S. I beleive John was there in time to see us, After takeing the Boat we had a pleasant trip one hundred miles down the great river We had dinner and supper at Leefingwells⁸ expence I was told, We arrived at Burlington

⁴ Lyons is a town of about 6000 population, two and one-half miles directly north of Clinton, Iowa. Here Company B of the First Iowa Cavalry was organized about May 1, 1861, under the leadership of Judge William E. Leffingwell of Lyons, its first captain. Samuel S. Burdett of DeWitt, 1st lieutenant, was later promoted to captain.—Lothrop's *A History of the First Regiment Iowa Cavalry Veteran Volunteers* (Lyons, Ia., Beers and Eaton, 1890), p. 20.

⁵ Camp McClellan, at Davenport, served as a concentration point for the additional companies permitted by an Act of Congress of July 29, 1861. This act increased the number of companies constituting a cavalry regiment from ten to twelve. This permitted the addition to the First Cavalry of Company L, mustered into the service on September 23rd; and Company M, which went into quarters at Camp McClellan on September 2nd and was sworn into service on September 12th.

⁶ Henry W. Lee, of Davenport, was bishop of the Episcopal diocese of Iowa from 1854 until his death in 1874. He was instrumental in the founding at Davenport of Griswold College and the building of Trinity Cathedral. He also carried to a successful conclusion a money-raising campaign which made possible the purchase of 6000 acres of land by the Iowa diocese.—Downer's *History of Davenport and Scott County* (Chicago, S. J. Clark, 1910), Vol. I, p. 590.

⁷ The Burtis Opera House, 413 Perry St., Davenport, Iowa.

⁸ Captain (Judge) William E. Leffingwell organized Company B, First Iowa Cavalry, under the name of the "Hawkeye Rangers". This was the first full company of equipped cavalry in the State. It numbered 98 officers

about 10 oclock P. M. Was marched through the dust to Camp Warren a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from town, we were met by Isaac's⁹ company and after many hearty cheers went in quarters with them for the night. This camp is very comfortable although they are nothing but shanties most of the boys sleep on the ground because they did not know how hard it would be in wet times Friday first day in Camp Warren it rained all day so we had to stay where we could untill we could get and put up our tents. Friday night it rained very hard and about midnight I found myself swimming in water, with a number of others. I concluded to take quarters on a table where I took a *wet* but a good sleep Saturday we put up our tents and dug ditches around them so they are water prooffe. Sunday today is comparatively quiet though I hear the Band play a part of the time as the guards have to be changed. I have not been to preaching to day but they say that next Sunday there will be preaching on the ground. We have plenty to eat here and can trade Pork and Beef for all the nicnacks we want. We draw as rations Pork Beef Rice Potatoes Bread sugar Coffee tea molasses vinegar Soap & candles Salt Pepper &c not all at once but all we need as evry other day for a change we have a good mess the Best one in the crowd to my notion. [illegible] myself and 3 other Carpenters one Telegraph operator 3 Mt. Vernon students Fred Wilkes¹⁰ one stone mason besides two other common labor-

and men, according to the Lyons *City Advocate* of July 27, 1861. It is significant that Capt. Leffingwell raised this company and procured its equipment without aid either from the State or Federal government. At different times before and after the war Leffingwell was a Presidential Elector, Judge of the Eastern Iowa District Court, and President of the Iowa State Senate. He was an able lawyer, and was distinguished for his scholarly attainments.

⁹ Isaac Gulick of Company B, a cousin. He re-enlisted in 1864 and survived the war. He afterwards moved with his parents to State Center, Marshall County, Iowa, and according to latest reports, he is still living there.

¹⁰ Fred Wilkes (Frederick R. Wilkes) also of Company M was William

ers, mess together We are all well suited and all good cooks Tell Peter¹¹ that Gorum [Josiah Gorhem] the wagon maker at Clinton is in our mess.

There is now a full Regiment of Cavalry here a great many of them want horses saddles and equipments besides us, they get them as soon as can be, but no telling when Isaac's Company with some others look well when mounted, as they have theyr saddles.

That money you sent me I thought I would not need it so I sent it back with John, I also sent you some apples and peaches half what John brought home, I sent them because I new they would come good and becaus I *could*. I would have sent something more but I did not know that we would have to go to Burlington so soon.

Camp Warren, Ia. Sept. 29th/61
Ia Cavalry

Dear Sisters¹²

I received your kind letter yesterday morning but as I did not have time to answer it then I waited untill now. My time is limited, for I am standing guard and just came off, will have to go on again at one oclock, we stand two hours on, and about four off, for twenty-four hours. It commenced last night to rain and has continued to rain ever since and prospects for a wet time all through my time of Guard, But I am well provided for as we have our uniform the clothing for the whole Regiment came Sept. 20th. We

Gulick's most intimate friend and "buddy" until the death of the latter in September, 1863. He had come to Clinton County from Indiana before the war, and joined Company M with the original enlistment in September, 1861. He re-enlisted in 1864 and served out the war.

¹¹ Peter Schuyler, a brother-in-law to Gulick, had married Lorrette, William's oldest sister.

¹² William Gulick had four sisters, all older than himself: Lorrette Schuyler, Sarah Jane Wagner, Emma V. Harris, and Cynthia Jones.

have one heavy pair Pantaloons and the promise of another soon, a very heavy Overcoat with cape a *Fighting Jacket* trimmed with orange a blue sack coat for a fatigue dress a pair of Boots, pair of shoes, and a hat something like Isaac's We have three Blankets one for our horse. The Whole Regiment is Ordered to go to St. Louis and to go by Squadrons one each day commencing tomorrow (Monday) Our Squadron will be the last so we will remain here yet six days unless further orders We expect to get the remainder of our horses by Wednesday, We have now about 30 horses and saddles. I forgot to tell you all of our clothing we got Shirts two pair drawers, two pair Socks a canteen, and all the little necessaries we wanted. I cannot carry all my clothing so I will send my things that I need least, in a box with some others to Clinton I shall have them in a bundle directed to Low Moor, I shall write to the rest of the family in a few days I got a pass yesterday to go down town but as the Colonel¹³ wanted all should appear on grond parad I could not go to have my likeness taken but as soon as I can get my pass I will have it taken and send it in my next letter. You will probably hear from Isaac soon for he will write as soon as he gets to St. Louis and he starts Tuesday

I was glad to hear that you were all geting along so well I am as well as can be and like soldiering better evry day I tell you it is fine cooking and eating out doors such days as this I have just pertaken of an apple dumpling I bought

¹³ Colonel Fitz Henry Warren, of the First Iowa Cavalry Volunteers, rose to the rank of brevet major general before the close of the war. A native of Massachusetts, he had moved to Burlington, Iowa, in 1844. In 1849 President Taylor appointed him Assistant Postmaster General. He made an excellent record in this position, but resigned it in indignation when Millard Fillmore signed the Fugitive Slave Law. In the campaign of 1860 he employed his eloquent oratorical powers in behalf of Abraham Lincoln. When war broke out he left the associate editorship of the *New York Tribune*, where he had made a reputation as one of the ablest journalists in the United States, to serve his country in the field. In later years he was frequently active in Iowa politics.

it for my dinner and thank fortune I have change but many have not, Peter Barr¹⁴ has lost his pocket Book with over Fifty dollars he says if Wagner¹⁵ has not payed that little sum he owes him to his brother he would like to have him send it to him, he says direct or send it in one of my letters The sum is \$3.60 I believe. It is now time for me to go on guard and I have always been prompt excuse me from writing more this time and I will write soon and more give my love to all my friends tell them I like to get letters, direct care of Capt.¹⁶ to Camp Warren as you have heretofore and my letters will be forwarded on to me if I am gone

Your Brother

W. O. Gulick

Dear Mary¹⁷

I thought I must write you a few lines in answer to your letter I was very happy to think you was so good as to write me and hope you may not forget to do so again. That paper of Candy I sent with John for you to pay for your letter. If I had have had time I would have sent something more. I would have been glad to made you a visit from Davenport as you requested me. But I had no time tell Woodworth and Parkes they must write to me be a good girl and remember your

Cousin Billie

¹⁴ Peter Barr, of Company M, came (like Gulick) from the Low Moor neighborhood and seems to have been a close friend of Gulick's, as he is mentioned a number of times in these letters. At the time of his discharge for disability at Clinton, Missouri, on June 24, 1862, he held the rank of corporal.

¹⁵ Richard Wagner, of Low Moor, married Sarah Jane Gulick.

¹⁶ By the "Capt." is meant William H. Ankeny, Captain of Company M.

¹⁷ This letter is undated, but from the mention of his mother's impending trip to Wisconsin we may infer that it was written about October 1, 1861. Mary was William's cousin by marriage; she had married his cousin Woodworth Parkes of Clinton. Hence Gulick writes or refers to them frequently as "Mary & Woodie".

I went to supper when the other sheet was full, but before we were half through Dress Parade was called and we had to leave every thing to get cold but however I ate enough such as it was

I was very glad to hear that Hattie and Mother were going to Wis. Hope they may enjoy it

I just wish that you could be here one day and see the soldiers and their fare there is a guard all around our camp and one can not get out unless he has a pass or run the beat Isaac and my self are going out in the country tomorrow if we *can* just for a pleasure trip

There was a secessionist or spy arrested here Friday. Maj. Lefingwell¹⁸ took him to St. Louis, have not heard from him since but he may have to suffer, This morning two men were arrested and brought in camp said to be from Missouri and spies they are in the guard house I do not know what they will do with them

It was so dark I just moved toward a camp fire I find it rather disagreeable writing and will have to close I was very glad to hear from you want you to write as often as you can and I will do the same. If I had time I could write a great deal more you must send all my letters if I have any to me by the directions below

Direct W. O. Gulick

Camp Warren,

Care of Capt. Ankeny

Burlington

Company M

Iowa

1st Regiment Iowa Cavalry

You must excuse this poorly written letter if you can

¹⁸ Wm. E. Leffingwell, according to Lothrop's *A History of the First Regiment Iowa Cavalry*, which is substantiated by the rosters of the Iowa Union forces, was not actually commissioned with a higher rank than Captain of Company B. However, he was for all practical purposes acting Major of the First Battalion, which was detached from the regiment, placed in his charge, and sent to West Central Missouri in the early part of October.

read it but writing on a rough board makes it look worse than it would,

Isaac was just here and says he has not time to write, but tell you he is all right, the camp is very healthy and my self and Fred are very well give my love to all and write soon

Yours in hast

W. O. Gulick

I forgot to tell you that Peter Barr has a soldiers Library of Fifty books with him

Camp Warren, Oct. 1st/61

Co. M. 1st Iowa Cavalry

Dear Brother:¹⁹

I am happy to have an opportunity to answer your letter. I received one from you, Mary & Mother, in one envelope, but intend to answer them sepperate, so to have you all write to me again one at a time I wrote a short letter to the girls day before yesterday I was standing on guard then, I had a fine old time of it, as it continued to rain all night, and I had four hours to stand in the middle of the night. A fellow attempted to run my station but I heard him and demanded him to halt he did so, I then demanded the counter sign, he could not give it He said his horse had crossed the line and he wanted to get him I told him to go to Head quarters and get the counter sign, or to *travel*, he *left and was heard of no more*

I came off Guard at ten o'clock I got a pass to go down town I run about town all day I see Isaac leave with his company there was four companies left, all took the boat, the horses were put on flat boats, you would have seen a great sight had you been here when they started Isaac did not have time to send his box by express so I sent it for him

¹⁹ "Dear Brother" was Parkes Gulick, who remained at home. William's letters contain frequent admonitions to his brother not to enlist, as he did not believe him strong enough to stand army service.

I sent your over coat home and my linen coat and shirt I give you, I have a long tailed Blue You would laugh to see me with it on, but it is very comfortable It makes a great difference in the appearance of a company of soldiers when they have their uniform on. There was four more companies left for St. Louis this morning I wished my self along with them but we will have to stay here yet three or four days to get the remainder of our horses and saddles It looks rather war like to see so many men all mounted, and then to have them to give three cheers and fire off a canon it makes a person feel like fighting I tell you Parkes I would advise you not to go to war. I think you are not strong enough and most to easy excited, for camp life is almost a continual drudge To day I have to cook I expect to morrow to stand on guard and evry day brings work By the way how is your onion crop, how does the sugar cane turn out. I would like to have some of the Molasses We only draw Molasses once a week and then only a little. What are you doing this fall, tell me what you with all the rest are about I should like to hear from Charlie²⁰ & Richard²¹ also tell Peters folks to write I suppose you will have charge of affairs when father and mother goes to Wis. *do it up well*. Tell father I have seen the company Blacksmiths shoe horses all day out in the rain it looked rather hard but it was just before they started for St. Louis and there is no stop of any thing in war As soon as I get to St. Louis I will write to mother & father You had better wait untill I write to them before you answer this, then it will come direct to St. Louis Tell Woody to write me a letter and I will answer it as soon as I can he said he would write to me.

²⁰ "Charlie" was Charles Jones of Low Moor, who married William's sister Cynthia. After the conscription act was passed he was summoned to service; but he succeeded in hiring a substitute, which was not only a very common practice, but specifically legalized by the draft law.

²¹ Richard Wagner, before mentioned, a brother-in-law of William Gulick's.

You must write all about my friends and about affairs at home as it is most time to get supper I will have to close

Your dear brother

W. O. Gulick

P. S. Give my love to Henries²² folks tell him to write me I will answer a long letter.

Camp Benton,²³ Mo. Oct. 18th/61
Co. M. 1st Ia. Cavalry

Dear Father & Mother

I have just set down to write you a letter. I have a great deal to write and but little time to write in. I have been very busy for the two days I have been here. It was very rainy the day we came in and cleaning up and getting settled is quite a chore. I wrote a very short letter the day we left Burlington stating that we was about to leave We had a very pleasant trip down to this place We were from Monday noon untill Wednesday morning but we lay up; one night above the Keokuk rapids I was very glad as it gave me a chance to pass Canton and many other towns in the day time, we did not pass any town but what the Glorious old Stripes and Stars were seen floating from some part although some were said to be quite rank secessionists The finest looking City I see was Quincy, we stoped there about two hours. The Iowa third Infantry was encamped there, I believe to recrute awhile. and to my surprise I came across Charlie James from Camanche Township.²⁴ He said he expected to go home on a furlough soon, if he dose you will see him and an hours chat would be interest-

²² Henry Gulick, an older brother at home.

²³ Benton Barracks, also called Camp Benton, was just outside St. Louis. It was the chief point of assembly for the Union armies in Missouri late in 1861 and early in 1862.

²⁴ Camanche Township in which the town of Camanche, Iowa, is located, lies along the Mississippi River a few miles southwest of Clinton.

ing as he was in the Battle of Blue mills²⁵ & several skirmishes. I set up all night on the boat to see the Bluffs and cave above Alton I could not distinguish the cave but the rocks I could see planely, I also see the mouths of the Ills. and Mo. rivers We arrived in St. Louis about 7 oclock in the morning It shows to good advantage to the river, It was a long time before we could land as the levee for two miles was crowded with steam boats I tell you, St. Louis is a large city and things look warlike. There is a great many Gun boats building and the streets are lined with soldiers canons are seen drawn through the streets with other arms and shiped to the different camps. The St. Louis streets are very narrow. Our camp is just out of the City and five miles from the river I thought we would never find the M. Barracks,²⁶ although we were tired the march from the boat was more interesting than I thought it could be, as we were cheered from evry side and the seens of a city to a country greenhorn were all new, When we arrived at Benton Barracks I found the best Quarters I ever seen I will send a View of the Barracks in a newspaper I believe there is about 7,000 thousand soldiers encamped here and in the Fare Grounds adjoining. On this sheet there is a view of the fare grounds on review day There is soldiers from Iowa, Ill, Wis, and many other states they are comeing and leaving evry day. By the way I said Isaac and his company were all here when we arrived, Well they had marching orders yesterday they saddled and packed their things

²⁵ This refers to the action at Blue Mills Landing (about five miles from Liberty, Clay County, Missouri), on September 17, 1861. About 4400 Confederates attacked 900 Union men and the latter were forced to retire. The Union losses were about 130 killed and wounded, the Confederate about 160. The Third Iowa Infantry, as Gulick reports, was engaged.— *Official Records: War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. III, pp. 193–195. This series was published by the Government Printing Office at Washington, 1880–1898.

²⁶ That part of Benton Barracks occupied by Company M of Gulick's regiment.

but did not get off untill today three oclock they have a part of their arms and expect to go by Jefferson Barracks and get the rest of their arms. Jef. Barks, is about five miles below St. Louis. I do not know how many soldiers are encamped their I do not know where Isaac is going but he will undoubtedly see a fight before he gets back I was sorry to see him leave, but still I was very anxious to go with him, but I know I shall have a chance before long to smell Rebble Powder, When I look around me and see so much that Government has done and has to do, I do not wonder at its slow movements as we used to call them Evrything here is on the strict order I was on guard today and it is night now, soon will be tattoo when all lights have to be extinguished I have only received your two letters that you sent to Burlington since I left home Except one from H. H. Judson and Aaron I should like to get some letters from any body (only so I get some) I came across some of Mr. Lafayette Tallmans Relations the day before we left Burlington some of their boys came to camp and when they found who we were and where from, nothing would do but that we should go out in the country about 2 miles where they lived and see them We did so and had a good dinner and an excellent visit, They wanted I should write so Tallman would know it, They said tell Tallman that Old Aunt Elen of Henry county was dead. This Tallmans name is Thomas ——— The Iowa eighth Rej. left here two or three days before we came in I was sorry for I should like to have seen some of the Eden boys. Isaac said that John Dam was left here in the Hospital. Was not able to go with the Rej. I have not had time to go and see him yet but think I shall go tomorrow If I can get a pass. I expect when I leave here that I will not be allowed to carry any thing except what I can carry in my saddle so I will have to send my carpet sack home or give it away as soon as I get

my arms I intend having my likeness taken again and send home I only wish I could get all of yours I believe you might send them all in one case that is taken on single plates Again I wish you all might be here to see the encampment and see the soldiers drill &c one day if no more The talk is that we will get our pay soon. I do not know but hope we will for many of the Boys are out of money I have plenty as yet however I do not know how long we may stay here yet but I guess the best way is to send your letters here as they are all forwarded on after evry company You must all write to me evry one of my folkes and direct to, Benton Barracks, St. Louis Mo. Company M 1st Ia. Cavalry

P. S. Give my love to all my friends and receive this from your affectionate son.

W. O. Gulick

Benton Barracks

Co. M 1st Ia. Cav. Oct. 19

Dear Mary

When I read over my letter this morning I found I had not written something I wanted to, because I did not have time, and finish my letter before tattoo

This small sheet was here so handy, and one that Isaac gave me, I thought I would direct it to you and write to all. I intend to write to Uncle Jacobs in a day or two and if I go any where near them I shall get a pass to go and see them There is quite a difference in the climate here from that of Low Moor. There has not been the least frost here yet, and the trees grass and all nature looks green and fresh By the way how does evry thing get along at home let me know all the little particulars Has Father & Mother got back from Wis. and how did they enjoy their visit. Is Kieh Vleharts threshing yet, how does John and all of

Peters folks together with Henries folks get along I do not know but I promised to write them a letter but I have not got time.

Tell Rich I have got a good tough horse, and well he might be for he has since I had him had the saddle on his back four days & nights with out changing Evrything has to get used to hardships When on Picket Guard a person is not allowed to unsaddle his horse

I have not got a name for my horse yet if you can think of a good one I want you to name him. I did not think about the picture of the Fare grounds on the first sheet when I was writing so poor, I am writing now in hast for the Bugle is sounding for drill excuse all errors, and write soon.

Your dear friend & Cousin

W. O. Gulick

Camp Benton, St. Louis, Mo.

Co. M. 1st Ia Cav. Oct. 27/61

Dear Sisters

I received your long looked for letter last night and I set my self about answering it as soon as I had read it, but had hardly commenced when the word came (to arms) or rather to go and get our new Sabers. I had to go. I have a very good one indeed. There was so much nois and clamor that I could not think of writing more last night. This Sunday morning we had to pack up evrything that is caried on horse back and appear on grand review or inspection after forming in line of Battle we marched around Brig. Gen. Curtis'²⁷ quarters, He (with his Body Guard close by) was

²⁷ Samuel R. Curtis was at this time a brigadier general; shortly afterwards he was promoted to major general, and in March, 1862, was in chief command of the Union army at the decisive victory of Pea Ridge, which gave an opening wedge for later Union invasions of Arkansas. On September 24, 1862, he was assigned to command of the Department of Missouri and Kansas. He kept

to inspect our Battalion as we marched by. I had a fine opportunity of seeing him he is a fine looking old man, and quite gray hair, all the soldiers had to salute him with the Saber. It was dinner time when I came in quarters, and as soon as I could take care of my horse and put away my things it was two oclock, and now as I want to write this letter (not knowing when I may have another opportunity) I will have to give up going to meeting, which is at four oclock We have orders to leave here between this and Wednesday. I know not where, but unless the order is countermanded we will go. I expect we will have to be put through drilling while we stay here, we drill mostly on a trot and a gallop, and when *chargeing*, on a dead run. I am geting used to riding, I beleive I shall make a good horseman a number of the boys have been thrown from their horses and some been run away with I believe that not any of them have been hurt. I am proud of my horse he is such a steady good one, When I get my accouterments all on and drilling I tell you I feel animated and like fighting. I beleive I shall do good exicution when I get a chance at those Missouri Ruffians. I think my chance is good for one stroke at least soon too, Day before yesterday our Lt. Crissy²⁸ came back from Lyons with recruits among them were Blacksmith-Clark J. Kilmer, Thoms. Else,²⁹ Although they

the Confederates in this field on a defensive and guerrilla basis of warfare throughout his period of command; but his policy of maintaining as many troops as possible in Missouri to dragoon southern sympathizers into submission instead of furnishing contingents to other fields when asked for them set him at odds with the authorities at Washington. On March 10, 1863, President Lincoln ordered Gen. E. V. Sumner to relieve him. Sumner died on the way to St. Louis, so the President on May 13th ordered General Schofield to relieve Curtis. Curtis afterwards commanded the Department of Kansas and Indian Territory. — *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York. The Century Co., 1888), Vol. III, pp. 446, 454, Vol. IV, pp. 376, 377.

²⁸ James Crissy, 1st lieutenant in Company M.

²⁹ "Blacksmith-Clark" was James Clark; "J. Kilmer", Jeremiah Kilmer; "Thoms. Else", Thomas C. Elce. All three were evidently from Lyons and

are nearly strangers to me, they seem like old friends. It came my turn to stand on stable guard that night from twelve untill six in the morning. I had so many long stories to exchange with the Camanche boys that I did not go to bed to get any sleep that night. Aaron Reccord & Lucian Beely³⁰ also came down at the same time in pesuit of their Regt. I suppose you knew that they had been in the Hospital at Camp McClellan, and home on a furlough. They are here yet and as Aaron is quite lame (from the affects of over walking when too week) I think he will stay here untill he is better, while Beely will start tomorrow morning, to over take his Co. that I think is near Warsaw.³¹ I got a pass to go to the Hospital but they would not admit me. I enquired for John Dam and was told that he was not There, I suppose that he went with his Co, The last I heard of Isaac and Co R. they were at Jeferson City. Tell Aunt Rebecca³² Isaacs letters will be forwarded from Head Quarters and I will not see them. You said you was glad to hear of any delay of our Co. for my personal safety. I do not want you to feel so, I came to *fight*, and the sooner we get at it the sooner it it(sic) will be ended. I can not give you any information concerning the war. I do not get the news regular and there is so many rumors in camp that a person can not beleive any of them, and a soldier never knows where he is going or what he is going to do. I beleive our Regt is as good as any them is, or at least Col. says so,

all enlisted after muster. They re-enlisted in 1864 and apparently served out the war.—Lothrop's *A History of the First Regiment Iowa Cavalry Veteran Volunteers*, pp. 396, 403.

³⁰ Reccord and Beely were evidently friends and neighbors at home. Nothing further is known about them.

³¹ Warsaw is the county seat of Benton County, Missouri; it lies about 60 miles southwest of Jefferson City.

³² William's Aunt Rebecca Gulick, wife of Abraham Gulick, a brother of William's father.

& Brig. Gen. Cortis [Curtis] says it has cost as much as any two Regt. organized.

We have another suit of evry day clothes in the Col.[’s] charge so we shall not *get out* this winter Besides we have a dress suit for a fancy rig but the Col. will not give it us yet I do not want it to mus now since I wrote you last we have received fatigue caps and partly enough overalls, expect the rest soon they are a good institution If I have time before I go from this place I will send you my likeness with my arms I shall expect to receive yours soon (I mean all the folks) Emma wondered if I was standing on guard the night she wrote I beleive I was or the night before I am not positive which You told me about Parkes how hard he had to work I am sorry he has to work so hard I believe it is easier to soldier, but since we have been at Benton Barracks my whole time has been occupied though it is not hard work, We have so much cleaning to do by the way I will tell you something I have to do We have to keep our Buttons Bright (we use chalk and a brush) all our clothes brushed clean, our Boots Blacked There is a great deal of Brass about our saddles, spurs Bridles and all have to be kept Bright and clean We have Brass shoulder *Plates* or Appaulets our Arms &c all have to be kept Bright. We also have to keep our Quarters clean and take care of horse. We Drill five hours evry day and have Dress Parade at five oclock it takes about half or three fourth hours I have to cook every ten days and stand on guard once in from three to six days, we all have to get up at six oclock or Reveille, (The sound of the Bugle) and cannot go to bed untill after Roll call or Tattoo (sound of the Bugle) which is at nine oclock P. M. If we do not answer at Roll Call we get a black mark, and about three markes makes extra guard duty (I never got a black mark yet) I was sorry to learn that Father and mother did not go to Wis. I think

they would have enjoyed the visit by the way there is some boys here from McGregor, Iowa. Some are acquainted in Grant Co, Wis. they say they are acquainted with some Kaslers but not our friends relatives as I can learn. There is some here from Adair Co. Mo. They Have been at Shibleys Point³³ but not acquainted there I have not written to Uncle Jacobs yet. I will the first spare time I have, for I know they would be glad to hear from me, But I want to write a good & a long letter when I write. I hope I may have an opportunity to visit them, though I think the prospects of geting a furlough is rather dubious, several have applied but to no effect I almost forgot to tell you of my visit to the Arsinial Yesterday I got a pass to go down town I went on horse back and rode nearly all day through the city The Arsinial is about three miles below the city and on the river Bank It is surrounded by a high stone wall and includes about ten acres There is many large stone and Brick buildings where all kinds of arms are manufactured I see 1.25 large cannon about half were six and eight inch bore and Rifled Cannon the rest were light and ten inch and one did weigh 12,051 lbs I see a number of morters and Bom shells a number of Brass cannon In one building they were makeing cartridges and five hundred boys would make two hundred Thousand a day it would seam enough to shoot all the rebbles in existence It was interesting to see the process of cartriges makeing and others makeing impliments of war, I have no time for explanations.

I also went to the City Reservoir, I see many interesting senes, but I beleive they are not worth your attention and my time. I forgot to say that I see the Clinton Herald and a list of the Premiums awarded at the Fair. I was glad to

³³ Shibley's Point is a small inland town about 15 miles northwest of Kirksville, in Adair County, Missouri.

find you had taken the premium on carpet Doc Ankeny Capt[’s] Brother³⁴ is down here he says he see father in Clinton a day or two before he started with Lt. Crissy for St. Louis, and told him he was going, from him I learned that folks were all well How is fathers arm I thought he must be lame, or had more work than he could do for Clark said he done some work for Schuyler just before he came down. Clark has enlisted as teamster he says he has had Blacksmithing enough at home. Our B. Smiths have to work very hard shoeing our horses. I have heard the hammer ringing on the Arsenal to day (Sunday) I have not seen Mrs. Lee I might stay here six months and not see her. There is many Hospitals, I was sorry to hear of Riches falling, but that goes to show that that (sic) people are exposed to danger at home, and in time of peace. Is there much carpenter work, and is times changeing for the better or for worse have all the folks Riches Peters Henries Uncle Abes³⁵ and all the rest write to me for I like to get letters and I dont get any I understand that I cannot take my carppet sack with me any more so I will send it home I was just thinking that I would like to get my pay so that I could send you all a present with the money I have I could not send a present worth while I see I will have to close or get another sheet I might write more but I will leave it for some other time tell Woody and Parkes I want them to write and let me know all that is going on at home Tell Mary to write me in answer to my letter. You must give my love to all the folks let me know how the Lodge is doing I have some other things to write but will wait untill next time You must excuse all errors I see the necesity of having a dictionary Direct as before I will write as soon

³⁴ Dr. Ankeny was a brother of Captain William H. Ankeny who was in command of Company M at this time.

³⁵ “Uncle Abe” was Abraham Gulick, William’s father’s brother.

as I get to any place from here Write soon from your
Affectionate Bro.

W. O. Gulick

Benton Barracks, St. Louis, Mo.
Co. M. 1st Ia. Cav. Nov. 7/61

Dear Sister Emma

I received a letter from mother Mary and Woody this afternoon, And I assure you it brought with it all the pleasant feeling and joys that a letter from home and friends could, Mother said that I must write to you in answer to her letter, that is all well as far as she is concerned, but I will answer *Marys & Woodies* as soon as I can have time. We are kept very very busy here, and thinking I might not have time another day to answer your letter, I bought a candle so I could answer it to night. I wrote John a letter the other day I did not have time to write much but by it you would know that we had not left this Camp There is now only one Battalion or four Co.s of us here. I do not know when or where we will go I would not attempt to tell you anything about our future movements for our Officers do not know anything about it themselves But I think that they will not keep us here much longer. Sometimes I am very anxious to get away from here then again, I do not care any thing about going or staying but make up my mind to do any thing and be perfectly contented. You said I must try to be cheerfull and not get homesick. You need not be afraid of that for there is to much going on to make one feel lively and then to much excitement for any one to hardly think of home or friends. Oftimes I take a walk away by myself in order to get a few moments to think of old times and home and friends. Even now I can hardly compose myself to write for there are so many Dutch³⁶ and

³⁶ Probably German troops, not Holland Dutch. Authorities on the Civil

they are all singing a person can not help laughing at the noise.

I am getting fat, I weigh about five lbs. more than I did when I left home, besides I'm getting as hearty & stout as a Bear. You spoke about sending me some money I do not need it, But have money to spare I shall send home Fifteen Dol by express I could send more but I do not know what I may need as cold weather is coming on together with a Campaign through Missouri. You shall use the money for any thing you need, I suppose that It will come good to pay Anthony if not already paid I think I can send Twenty Dol every two months (or pay day) to you, If you do not need it for any thing you can save it to make improvements or until I come home.

P. S.— I have concluded to send this ten dollar note in this letter instead of by express, In my next I will send five Dol more I received part silver and gold and part treasury note, it will draw the gold here Yours in haste

W. O. Gulick

I have no Idea when that will be, but it will not be until after I have seen more of soldiering than I have yet

The Iowa second Inf't came in here about a week ago. You know that Co. I from Clinton belonged to that Reg't You cannot imagine the great joy and surprise that took place together with the hearty welcome, when our boys met them, There was about four hundred on the sick list when they came in, they presented a hard sight. They will be likely to stay here two or three months quite a number of them have gone home on furloughs Two or three days after they came in here. We all took dinner together at an eating establishment kept in camp We had as good a dinner as I ever see, all kind of *meat*, with fish and Oysters

War are agreed that Missouri would probably have been lost to the Union early in the war without the loyalty and vigilance of the German element in and around St. Louis, who were vigorously opposed to secession and slavery.

and evry thing according. It reminded me of Christmas day at home. You said something about my Likness. I had one taken with my arms all except my Carbine. And I broke my last Dol. to get it taken before we were paid. (I had loaned \$2.50 however) I will send it home in this letter I was sorry it was not taken a size larger. But I will get one taken on horseback when I have time, and get my Carbine. The Clinton Bible society presented all of the soldiers with a Testament. But as I have one I will send it home. I intend to send my satchel home if I can ever get a pass down to the City. But it takes so long as there is only four passes issued a day and the whole Co have to take turns To night is appointed prayer in our Barracks so I will have to wait untill tomorrow night to finish it.

Friday 8th Nov. The day is passed and I am again writing to you. I am quite tired to night as we have been drilling mostly on charges or on a run, and then handling a saber of 3½ lbs my arm is very tired and nervous we have to drill with the saber makeing the cuts as we are on a dead run. It is fun with all the rest I know it would be interesting to you to be here one after noon and see the Different Regts Drill. The cavl make Sham charges on the Inf^t and it is quite exciteing There is about Five thousand troop in this camp, the Ia. 3rd Cav has been comeing in by Squadrons for the last two or three days Every day has its rumers and excitement There has been a general lamenting in Camp today for Fremont³⁷ as we were informed that he was superseeded Also we hear of the excitement prodused in the City & we have been ordered to be ready at a moments notice to night to march to the City as they ex-

³⁷ The superseding of John C. Fremont here alluded to was occasioned by his freeing of slaves and setting them to work for the Union army in those districts of Missouri under his control. The administration ordered his removal to pacify the indignant border slave States, which it was feared might be lost to the Union by these hasty actions.

pect a riot or an at-tack on the property of the enemy of Fremont or Blairs³⁸ property It produces some excitement but for my part I am geting used to any thing and I anxious for a brush of any kind. We also heard that a part of our Regt has had a brush with some Rebles they took some horses goods prisoners none killed or wounded (so says report) We got word of the Belmont fight today But you know much more about affaires outside our camp than I do You enquired about my standing on guard I will endeavor to tell you The camp is surrounded by guards posted about a quarter of a mile outside the camp, they are numbered and stand about Twenty rods apart. There is three relief and one Corporal with each relief If the guards want anything they call out for the Corpt and tell their number and each man cries out the same untill it gets to the guard house the Corpl or any number of soldiers come to assist in any thing, or unless it is an enemy then we have orders to fire and report as soon as possible. So you see that we have evrything as handy as can be, and we only have to stand two hours, and rest four, for twenty four hours (or one day)

I can pack evry thing on my horse very easy. I can roll two Blankets behind my Saddle, one under and one on the top to ride on. I have a valice behind my saddle and a saddle bags to put in my cloths my over coat is rolled before my saddle and evry thing has its place

I was very sorry to hear that Richard was so unlucky this fall I hope his luck may change. But I believe for the last five years he has been very fortunate so he must bear up manfully patiently under his misfortunes. I hope Richard will write me a letter now I think he will have time

³⁸ Francis P. Blair, although a Union man, protested vigorously against Fremont's confiscation of the slave owners' human property. Blair will also be remembered as candidate for Vice President on the Democratic ticket with Horatio Seymour in 1868.

before he is able to go to hard work You say the girls have schools engaged I think it will be hard to teach this winter I had rather they would not but I suppose you know I can not help it. I hope you will be well during the term Tell Henry to write me also Peters folks and all my friends I will write to Mary & Woody as soon as I have time Fred and the boys want me to go and get a bowl of Oyster soup with them and as I can think of but little more at present I will have to close And now hoping that that this may find you as well as I am I bid you good night

Your Affectionate Brother

W. O. Gulick

P. S. pleas excuse this poor epistle in answer to yours. direct as before.

W. O. Gulick

Benton Barracks, St. Louis, Mo.

Co. M. 1st Ia Cav. Nov. 24th/61

Dear Brother:

I received your letters (In answer to Johns I suppose) some time ago. And I am sorry to say it found me just able to sit up in my Bunk and nibbling on a piece of Toast. I was quite unwell for two or three days before I received it, but did not know just what was the matter with me. I reported myself sick and the Doc said the symptoms of measles were quite strong but not enough to take me to the Hospital. In the course of two or three days they applied mustard to my brest but could not start the Measles and I could not go to the Hospital untill I knew. The next night they applied the mustard, and gave me some sweating powders, also about a galon of hot tea You ought to have seen the measles start on me then After so long a time they seemed to come out double Proportion. Well I was confined to my Bunk just a week It was very tiresome and the soft side of the Boards began to be rather hard, but I

was glad to stay here and not go to the Hospital I have been about the Barracks now for two days I am gaining very fast and will be able in a few days to go on duty.

It is very cold and has been for the last three days it rained about that time ago, and since then has been very unpleasant During the last week there has come in a great many troops among which are the Ia. 7th who were at the Battle of Belmont,³⁹ the Boys tell me they looked rather tough when they came in here. One or two of Isaacs Co. came in here from Springfield. They say the Boys are coming in before long also some boys of the Ia 8th were here they also tell us that they expect their Regt in here in a few days But they cannot tell, I hope they may all come in before we go away while I was sick the Boys were I should like to know what is going to be done, It must be some grand movement is going to take place. there is so many soldiers here, I hope it is down the Mississippi and I may participate in the movement But I have not time to write any thing concerning our movements, I will write home again in a few days when I feel better I received your letter and one from Cynthia, Friday last, and this is the first I have been able to answer it In regard to that note of Anthonies I have only part of acct in my [letter incomplete]

Benton Barracks St. Louis Mo.
Co. M. 1st Ia. Cavl. Nov. 25th/61

Dear Sister.

I received yours of the 18th inst, and finding me as it did, you may know it was greeted with unusual pleasure. I

³⁹ On November 7, 1861, a sharp engagement occurred at Belmont, Missouri, across the Mississippi from Columbus, Kentucky. The Union force was commanded by Brigadier General U. S. Grant, and the Confederates by Major General Leonidas Polk. Gen. Polk claimed the victory. Gen. Grant points out, however, in his report that the Confederates were prevented by this battle

have not been able to answer it untill now. Although the other day I wrote a short letter to Peter concerning that note, I was sorry I could not give more information in regard to the payments than I did, but I trust it will be all right, and I think it will by what mother wrote in Henries letter. I received Henries letter & some papers from Peter yesterday and I intend to answer it as soon as I get time. But I thought it would be better to answer my letters in turn as I receive them Still I did not consider the letter I wrote Peter an answer to his first. I thought you would be anxious to hear from me after you learned I had the Measles, so although I have no particular news to impart, I thought I would write you again. They tell me I had the Measles pretty hard and I guess I did at any rate they were hard enough to suit me, and they have left the spots on me yet, but I am geting along finely, I have nothing to do but knock about the quarters and read and write, still I am so weak that I get tired of any position ever so easy when I remain in it long

There seems to be more sickness in Camp now than for some time before, and the Measles have been through most every company. Several of our Co had them among which were Thomas Else of Camanche most all of the boys went to the Hospital They say they were treated well, still I had rather not go One of our Boys (Henry Bennett⁴⁰ by name) went to the Hospt and after he came back through some

from reënforcing Price in Missouri, also that they abandoned Belmont after the battle. Losses conceded by Union headquarters totaled 485; by the Confederates, 641. The Seventh Iowa Infantry, to which Gulick refers, were the heaviest sufferers in this battle, losing 26 killed, 93 wounded and nearly all of the 99 missing from the Union side—*Official Records: War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. III, pp. 271, 273, 275, 306-310.

⁴⁰ Henry Bennett was a private in Company M; he deserted on March 3, 1863; but, curiously enough, he is found among the re-enlistments for 1864.—Lothrop's *A History of the First Regiment Iowa Cavalry Veteran Volunteers* pp. 403, 421.

mistake he was reported Dead. I see the notice of his death in the paper also telling his company and Regt. I see by that mistake, There is a great chance for a person to *die* and never be heard of I presume some poor fellow died at that time and as he was taken for H. B. his friends will not hear from him. I fear such was the case with poor John Dam. I was greatly surprised to hear that he was dead but one or two of his Co. came in here from Springfield and they told me that him and some others were left in the Hospt. and that they got word that him and a Shadle boy both died. These boys came in because they were sick but after geting better came up to camp. They say the eighth Regt are comeing in soon, I do not take their word for it for I just know a soldier never knows when or where he is going. But as I see in the paper that Gen. Hunters⁴¹ army was nearly all comeing back to St. Louis I hoped the 8th Regt together with Isaac and our Boys might come here.

One of the Hawk Eyes⁴² (John Downing) came in here the other day I beleive he said he left Isaac and Co. at Springfield he said they were all well when he left them. I have heard since that Isaac and Co had come as far as Tipton⁴³ on their way here, but were ordered back again.

⁴¹ Major General David Hunter is noteworthy for having covered nearly every field of operations in the course of the war. He had been a colonel at the first battle of Bull Run; at the time this letter was written, he was in charge of the Department of Kansas, which naturally gave him some part in the operations in Missouri. He was transferred to the Department of the South on March 31, 1862. During his administration of this Department he planned and carried out the capture of Fort Pulaski, Georgia, an important Confederate stronghold at the mouth of the Savannah River. He was relieved of this Department on June 12, 1863, by General Quincy A. Gillmore. —*Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, Vol. IV, *passim*.

⁴² Company B, as mentioned, was called the "Hawk-Eyes" or "Hawkeye Rangers". John Downing, here mentioned, enlisted after muster.—Lothrop's *A History of the First Regiment Iowa Cavalry Veteran Volunteers*, p. 387.

⁴³ This probably means Tipton, Missouri, a town of about 1100 population, situated in Moniteau County, some 35 miles west of Jefferson City.

I suppose the boys out there see pretty hard times by Downings story, I should not be satisfied to have them see all the rough sights and experience all the tough times out where they are now. But I know our turn will come somewhere else, and I hope I may be willing to take it, and do my duty as a soldier and a man.

I think their will be some grand movement made before long down the Mississippi. There are so many Troops here, I think there is nearly Twelve Thousand troops in this camp and more expected evry day some from the North and then those that are out S. West. I under stand the Flotilla as a certain amount of Gun Boats (Twenty-five in number I Beleive) are now complete here at St. Louis. I see some of them when down to the City some time ago They are a kind of Flat boat with a round deck and covered with Iron they are drawn about by small steam tugs that have the appearance of a common sized Yawl Boat, I see them at a distance only I cannot attempt to describe, I think that a large Army with the help of these gun boats will do great execution and if they all move together which I think they will, I would not be surprised if Collumbus⁴⁴ & Memphis [Tenn.] would *be ours* I only hope some such movement will be made. I dont like laying still Neither do I like any retrograd movement such as leaving Springfield or rather the pursuit of Price I hope as the expedition has been successful along the Coast The western army on its rout[e] down the Mississippi may be crowned with success. It will tend to dishearten the Rebble cause so. And I think a heavy blow just now would help to terminate this war as soon as anything, and that is what all soldiers are looking for. I feel as though I was loosing so much good time here and would like to be going to school, although I am as good

⁴⁴ Columbus, situated on the Mississippi River at the western tip of Kentucky, was still held by the Confederates at this time.

a soldier now as ever and am not homesick at all. I have such a comfortable place to write that I will not know when to stop. I am in the Officers Quarters at a writing table with a glass window before me, out of which I can see the Trooper on Battallion Drill, and a comfortable fire at my back. The whole parade ground is covered with soldiers. The Iowa Seventh is here. I have seen a number of them they give an interesting account of the Battle of Belmont. There are a great many Iowa Troops here. The 2nd, 3rd, 7th, 11th, & 12th Infantry & the part of 1st and the 3rd Cav.⁴⁵ I come across acquaintances every day. Capt. or Lt. Hoyt & Co.⁴⁶ are not in the 13th Inft. as I supposed I understand they are at Davenport. In the 16th Regt. I hope they will come down here before we leave for I should like to see Hoyt and some boys from home. In the 12th Regt. I came across Jim Mathews⁴⁷ from Camanche or Mt. Vernon he worked at Kistners⁴⁸ and a little at Uncle Abes last harvest.

They have sham Battles every few days in camp or out on the parade ground. I tell you it animates a person to hear thousands of muskets go off at the same time together with half doz cannon, It makes louder Thunder with ten times the Ratling you ever heard and then it is not one crash but it is kept up for some minutes first on one side

⁴⁵ The large number of troops still left at Benton Barracks, as indicated by the regiments enumerated from Iowa alone, reflects the slowness with which the Union forces were being brought to bear upon the actual fronts. Little was accomplished by the Union armies in 1861, either in the East or in the West, although the Western armies made the better showing from the first. Although hopelessly outnumbered in men and materials, the Confederates at first showed superiority in speed and initiative.

⁴⁶ William H. Hoyt, 1st Lieutenant, Co. A, 16th Iowa Infantry.—*Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion* (State Printers, Des Moines, 1908), Vol. II, p. 1073.

⁴⁷ Jim Mathews. His name is not found in the roster.

⁴⁸ Probably farmers in Gulick's neighborhood near Low Moor.

and then on the other But I am sorry to say at one of the sham fights one man had his skull on top of his head taken of by a ball that had been left in a cartridge through a mistake and all were so excited some of them shot off their ramrods one horse got pierced by a bayonett so I guess he died and one man got his leg broken by a horse kicking him so you see the excitement that prevails. But since those accidents there has not been so many sham fights

While I was sick my horse did not get very good care so he broke loose and was taken up by another Regt. and Branded. The Capt sent for him and as he had to go through some Leagle course to get him which takes time, I have no horse to take care of. But they will get him in a few days and every thing will be all right. I would not loose my horse for any thing I could not get another as good as him I fear I cannot tell when we will leave here. But I guess not untill the rest of the Regt. comes in I expected we would leave here long ago and indeed the Boys were all packed ready for a start last week, but as luck would have it the order was countermanded I had expected to send my satchell home as I cannot carry it when we leave here But now as I will not be able to send any presents in it I hardly know as it will be worth sending. I had expected to send you some trifling presents enough to fill the satchell but Fred⁴⁹ had the misfortune to have his money stolen and cannot get it We had one of our company brought up before the Capt, But although we proved him to be quite a liar he cleared him self of having the money he made out that he had so much money when he came in camp still we are satisfied where the money is. I have divide with Fred, we have enough yet as Fred had loaned some I have not been down to the city yet but guess I shall get a pass as soon as I am

⁴⁹ "Fred" whenever mentioned without another name means Gulick's friend Fred R. Wilkes.

able. I will write you about my visit to the City if I go. It is a great deal more pleasant to day and getting warmer. I expect we will move into our tents before many days to give more room to other soldiers. I have been told since I have been writing that instead of Twelve Thousand there is Eighteen Thousand troops in these Barricks & I suppose that in and about this city there is Sixty Thousand. You say you think that the ambrotype I sent home is the best you have had. I only had it taken to let you see me with my arms if I can after a while I will get one taken on horse back and a larger size.

I was glad to hear you got Twenty Dol. and that you had commenced your school for with you the same as me the sooner you commence the sooner it will end. I was quite surprised to hear that Malinda Mudgett was going to teach school and I think if you do right you will send the boys to Emma. As you say to return the compliment I was glad to hear that Rich was able to go to work again. I suppose he will relieve Charlie from being President of the machine. Tell Charlie for a change I should like him to soldier it awhile. Still I would not advise Charlie or any one to Enlist. You said Mary was writing to her father tell her she must write me. I am sorry Uncle Smith does not come to see the children. Tell Woody I shall write him but he must not wait for me as I have so much writing to do, also tell Parkes to write me for although you write a great deal of news the children write news to me that is interesting and that would hardly be worth your while such as all about our stock and work &c, &c. You must tell John and all the boys and all the folks to write me. Regardless of answer for it does me a great deal of good to get letters and I will answer all I can. You spoke about Peter Halls coming to Blacksmith it at Low Moor. I hope he cannot come this winter. But now a word to father. I think as Cynthia says

it would be an excelent plan to hire some steady young man to work in the shop as father you are geting old and ought not to do much hard work and if you can keep the trade or custom you have by leting some young man help you I think you might easily make a good living and do but little work and then you would stand on an equal footing to compete with Pete Hall and as you have the oldest right I would not let him get one inch the start for if he gets a good hold he will try and keep it as Low Moor is a good place for a Blacksmith. Now I expect to Draw my wages every two months and if they would help you to a start you will be welcome to them above all things do not let Pete Hall get the start of you But I do not want you to try to work against him yourself as I think you are not able. I should like to know how you with evry thing is geting along By the way let me know about those Fractional lots and about the settlement with Mudgett for my lot & about the Deed &c

Oh you inquired if I knew the man W. W. H.⁵⁰ that wrote for the Lyons Mirror I do well. Hatherway is his name he has been writing by my side this after noon he is also on the sick list. I forgot to say that none of our company have died or been very sick. It is Dress Parade and nearly night I have been writing steady for three hours and am geting quite tired although I have such a comfortable place I shall take time to write Henry in a few days and hope I may repay him by writing good a letter as he did. I was not aware I had written so much I see plainly I will have to stop so please excuse all errors and write me as soon as you get this be sure and have all the folks write and let me know evry thing that is going on give my love to all the folks children especially. Tell Emma if she claims the ambrotype

⁵⁰ "W. W. H." was William W. Hathaway of Lyons of Company M. He enlisted on September 2, 1861, with the original company, and was mustered out on September 9, 1864, at the expiration of his term of service.—*Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. IV, p. 102.

she must write a letter and send all of yours to pay for it
Now hoping every thing for the best I close

Your Affectionate brother

W. O. Gulick

P. S.

Direct as before.

Benton Barricks, Nov. 25th/61

To the Misses Gulick

Seeing that Will⁵¹ Is writing home, and thinking It no intrusion, I direct you a few lines congratulating you upon his safe recovery of the Measles, he had quite a severe attack as he has probaly written you but coming to the Hospital being filled to Its utmost extent he was compeled to stay In the barracks, but had as good attendance as well could be shown to one in such a place. If they had have taken him off I should have tried to have got permission to have gone with him so as to have taken care of him as I do not think at all the Hospital the patients got the best of care. There seams to be considerable sickness about hear just now It is stated that there are some four thousand in the different Hospitals around hear and daily some poor soldier is relieved of the trials and troubles of this world to sleep his sleep of peace among many the many who have falen in this notorious and wicked Rebellion. Last week when I was down town I witnessed a funeral precession of two soldiers. They were privates in some Cavalry Co. I could not learn what Reg but it was a melancholy sight, First came a large Brass Band playing a solemn funeral dirge then the most splendid hearse I ever saw covered with large spreiding black plumes two feet high, the hearse was drawn by two large black steeds, two men dressed in black with white gloves walked on both sides of the car-

⁵¹ "Will" is, of course, William O. Gulick.

riage, next cam a man dressed the same leading his horse which was all covered with crape his sabre hanging by the horses side, with all the rest of his traps to numerable to mention fastened to the horse just as if he was on a march, then followed his whole company and after them [illegible] they were probably some rich mens sons of St. Louis, as all soldiers that die here do not get that much attention and ceremony preformed on them, and when they are taken sick and leave the Barracks that is genarly the last you see of them for a wagon comes after them and they are driven off somewhere you know not where, and genarly do not see or hear of them untill they get their discharge and you see them walking into the Barracks again But I must stop. I did not think of writing half as mutch when I began. We are having splendid times here now, but soon anticipate seeing a great battle, as the movement of things hear indicate that a demonstration will soon be made, somewhere South at Columbus I think, William I should judge by the No. of sheets has written all the news so I will not tax you mutch more, but will simply say that I am thrice glad that I started with your Brother as he prove a true friend and nothing could induce me to leave him as true and faithfull friends are not readily found when one is far away, as I have long before this found. If I do not feel well he looks after my wants, and he is not well I try and do the same, I find it very convenient in simply sending to our house, But I will close wishing to be remembered as your Friend,

F. Wilkes

Dear Sister. I closed my letter and after supper I got Fred to write a little. I am glad he has taken the trouble to give so good a discription of a Military Funeral. By the way I forgot to thank Peter for those stamps because I

forgot them he must not think I did not consider them a favor. It is getting quite late so I will close for good.

Yours in haste

W. O. Gulick

Benton Barracks St. Louis, Mo.
Co. M. 1st Ia. Cav., Dec. 1/61

William Henry⁵²

I received a letter from you the other day, also one from Lydia⁵³ and Mary. I have just written a few lines to Lydia and I did not intend to answer your letter until tomorrow but I just received a letter from Emma and I thought I would take the sheet she sent me and answer your letter making it do as an answer for both. I was greatly pleased to have you write so good a letter, and then your mother I hope she will continue to show her good will by writing again. You spoke about winter. I suppose you are seeing enough of it by this time. But situated as you are I know that winter will bring a great many pleasures and even here as I am, I believe I shall see some good times. Lorrett⁵⁴ spoke about sending some things to the H. [Hospital] made by the People of Low Moor I do not know what would be of the most need. The first Ia. Cav. have established a hospital here in the Fair grounds and a Mr. Hathaway writes for your paper from our Co. is acting as nurse from our Co. they detail men as fast as they need them to help the Regimental Docs I should be quite willing to go to the Hospital now as we have one of our own and so close by. I believe at the General Hospitals about St.

⁵² "William Henry" is William Henry Schuyler, brother of John and son of Peter Schuyler.

⁵³ Lydia Frank, daughter of Elijah Frank, elsewhere mentioned. They lived on a farm in the Gulicks' neighborhood. Lydia married Eugene Wagner, a brother of Gulick's brother-in-law Richard Wagner.

⁵⁴ Lorrette (Mrs. Peter) Schuyler, William's oldest sister.

Louis they have some nurses and then the Sisters of charity take turns nursing when they are needed. But for the last few weeks they have been kept very busy attending to the sick (by measles) but like me most of them are getting well. I have written about the H. Nurses for Emma as she inquired You have learned before this that I am getting along finely I have taken care of myself pretty well when I was down sick Fred and others detailed to tend the sick took good care of me. Emma wanted to know about my bunk I had my blankets under me and the last two days I had some straw. But I could have had it before if I had wanted it. I have not gone on duty yet My Officers are very kind I shall go on drill tomorrow I guess, as I feel quite well It is so dark I will have to close until candle light. The candle gives a poor light and the boys are making considerable fun & noise but I will continue so as to send this out by morning mail Yesterday was quite a busy day with us as we had to move in our tents. We have everything very comfortable, Fifteen of us boys all good natured fellows lay with our feet to the fire. We have a nice little stove in the center of our tent and plenty of good straw to lay on. Most of the boys were on Review today I went out to see them it was a grand sight to see soldiers marching by Cos. two miles and a fourth long. There was about Eighteen thousand troops out today & Gen Hallock⁵⁵ was present. I wrote Lydia about a woman being shot and

⁵⁵ Major General Henry W. Halleck assumed command of the Department of Missouri on November 19, 1861. By the middle of 1862 he had planned and executed so well that the Confederates had been driven out of Missouri, northern Arkansas, Kentucky, and western and middle Tennessee, and had lost every city and stronghold on the Mississippi River above Vicksburg. On June 8, 1862, the authorities at Washington extended his command over Kentucky and Tennessee, and on July 11th he was appointed general-in-chief of all the Union armies and ordered to Washington, following the failure of McClellan's drive on Richmond. He remained chief-of-staff after General Grant's rise into prominence had made the latter commander-in-chief of all the Union forces. A cautious man, Halleck was characterized by "an aver-

guards being poisoned &c. But tonight one of the guards was shot by accident. It was one of the Ia. 2nd boys, the guard next to him aimed his gun at him in fun, the gun proved to be loaded and the Ball passed through his head. There are a great many such accidents to happen in camp but none of the Ia. 1st have been unfortunate,

There was about two Regt. and a half came in today from Michigan These Barracks are very much crowded. It seems they cannot hold any more. I do not know what they will do with us and I do not care. I only hope they will give us something to do that will *Tell* Emma spoke about sending me that money I do not want it as I have more than I ought to spend now and it is only a month to pay day. But if I should happen to want it or we should not draw our pay, I can send for it so If you have not sent it when you get this do not send it untill I send for it There has been an order issued not to give any passes out of camp for Twenty days I have not been down to the City yet so I will not have a chance to spend much money however I think I can send for some things that I need

We have cooks now for our Co. We give them both, 75 cents per month each man makeing for them about \$.35 apiece per month They are good Darkey cooks I tell you and it seems good to be relieved from cooking. I should like to have been to Lorretts to Thanksgiving, and I should like very well to be home Christmas & New Years but as I cannot I hope you will have a pleasant time without me. I suppose Congres sets tomorrow I am very anxious to see the Pres. message and to see what Congress does concerning this war. It is quite unhandy writing on a board as I am so I will close for this time excuse this poor paper it is

sion to the unnecessary shedding of blood.'—*Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, Vol. II, pp. 718, 722.

all I can get in camp at present also excuse the many errors and write soon all of you good night.

Sincerely yours,

W. O. Gulick

I will write Mary and Woodey soon

W. O. Gulick

Benton Barracks, St. Louis Mo.

Co. M., 1st Ia. Cavl. Dec. 10th/61

Dear Sister Emma.

I just received your letter and I thought I would answer it this afternoon as I have more time than I will have for a few days again. There is considerable grumbling in camp about *Grub* as we have done without or nearly so for two days. The last rations we drew were for Ten days and tho the time is up tomorrow we did not get our full weight as there is a fraud among some of the Quartermasters. This morning we did not Drill and this afternoon we were ordered out by our Col. Of course the boys after some hesitation went out but met the Col who only wanted to inquire about our rations. He said *none of his men should go on duty with emty stomachs* unless closely pressed by an enemy. He sent us back to quarters & by the way I have time to write you and expect a good supper prepared by our *Darkey cooks*. You must not think we were any where near starving for we had plenty of Bread and water, and there was plenty of anything a person could want close by to sell, and you know I am not the boy to go without when I have money to buy with, and so far I have had a plenty. The money you sent came safely to hand, I do not need it unless we should be disappointed next pay day (The 1st Jan.) and then I could send home and get it, but all is well enough except you must not be so particularly concerned as to my wellfare for I assure you I can get along here as well

as any where, Your letter found me as you desired "much better & improveing" I go on duty and am very well again. The day after I wrote W. H. S.⁵⁶ it snowed about three inches and was cold for three days but then it came off very warm and our snow disappeared in one day and ever since it has been like spring yes *May* weather. Yesterday we were out on Inspection The Col. sayed we done well. It was understood that our appearance would have something to do with our future movement or in other words it was to deside wheather we were to stay here or go out in active servise. Have not heard the result, but the Boys generaly believe that we will leave here for some other point next week I tell you we are all very anxious to leave here as we are tired of doing nothing

The troops begin to leave here now, day before yesterday the Eleventh Iowa & the Fifty Second Ill. went out west some where.⁵⁷ We may go out and join our Regt but I do not tell any thing for a certainty We may winter here for all that I know I hope not however for I know I should enjoy it better to be out on a march or on a scout & then it would be more healthy I believe it is generaly more healthy in camp now than two weeks ago. There has been several cases of the Small Pox in camp but evry preventative has been used to keep it from spreiding. Our whole Regt or all that is here have been vaccinated mine has not taken affect yet I beleiv I will try it again if it does not in a few days. But still we are out of danger as we are encamped in the Fare grounds alone by ourselves. The first Battalion of the Ia. 2nd Cavl from Davenport came in here last night

⁵⁶ "W. H. S." was William Henry Schuyler.

⁵⁷ This is confirmed by an entry of December 7, 1861, in the diary of Sergeant Alexander G. Downing, Co. E, 11th Iowa Infantry. On that date they received marching orders, with instructions "to carry forty rounds of extra ammunition". On the 8th they took the train for Jefferson City.—Downing's *Civil War Diary* (Des Moines. Historical Department of Iowa 1916), pp. 21, 22.

They lost as much of their equipment as we do. We have had Three different sabers the last ones we got last week they are the heaviest and homeliest ones we have had but may be they are good Our other ones were not good and would not bear Inspection and now we have no other arms but if we leave here we will get more I received a letter from Uncle Jacob last week I answered it, and will send it you I also received one from Aaron he said plenty of snow and he improved every opportunity sleighriding I shall tell him he had better *serve Uncle Sam a while*. I was glad to hear how father and the rest of you were geting along, also about that Deed and Mudgett & Pete Hall &c hope to hear more concerning it and hope you will put it through. Now it is time to take care of my horse (which I never neglect) and then supper. I did not intend to write much now, but will write soon again. If we go from here I will write immediately, You must Direct as usual, I have not been down to the City yet but I sent out and got somethings I needed as over shoes etc.

Give my respect and love to all of the folks and write soon

Yours in hast

W. O. Gulick

Benton Barracks, St. Louis Mo.

Co. M. 1st Ia. Cavl. Dec. 12th/61

Dear Cousins Mary & Wooddie

I have taken this evening to answer your letter which I received some time ago and which I am sorry to say I have neglected for a long time But if I have not written to *you*, as soon as some *others* it is not because I had forgotten you or your *good letters*. You must not wait for me to answer all the letters from home, but write when ever you can for you know that everything is inconvenient for me to write here, and I know that you have everything you want for

writing. Then you promised me to write, & if I promised to answer them all I will try and do so. I received a letter from Emma the other day and wrote a short letter in answer to it the same afternoon. Today we drilled in forenoon and then had chicken for dinner. Our Darkey cooks are good ones and if we only give them something to cook we can live well. This afternoon we had a good Battallion Drill but was quite late geting out. And after seeing well to my horse and partaking of Supper which I made good with a half pie and piece of cheese. (Fred and I got it of Mrs. Stockings, Doc. S's⁵⁸ wife He is a private in this Co. But his wife came down here so he is keeping house close by here and She sells excelent pies cakes etc. to the soldiers) I concluded to write you. The boys lay around the tent some reading some writing and some talking and more of the latter than anything else. I can hardly compose my mind to write as the boys are talking about the *Secesher* they captured today. There is at the lower end of camp, *or was*, a saloon and sider mill some boys from the Sharpshooters on a Spree got apples and did not pay for them. The bartender to get revenge pitched on a S. S. that was standing guard and shot & staded him so he died. This created much excitement in his Co. The saloon keeper was suspected of being a secessionist. So the Sharpshooters went to his house and after searching found a Sesesh flag. They then proseeded to tear down and burn his house mills and saloon. They were not satisfied with this but as they had received marching orders the day before they had to leave by seven oclock in the morning. There was also the 12th Ia. Inft and one Battallion of the Ia 3 Cavl went with them, I know not where

⁵⁸ "Doc S." refers either to John B. Stocking or Duncan T. Stocking. Their records are so identical that it can not be determined which one is meant. Both were natives of New York State and residents of St. Louis; both enlisted in Company M on October 15, 1861.

But to go on with my story 12 of our boys were ordered out to find and arrest Mr. Saloonkeeper but sorry to say did not find him but run across another *Jef Davis man* whom they arrested and took to the military prison As soon as the Capt. called for twelve men there was a general rush to see who would be the lucky ones. The Capt. took the first — that came out as near as could be. He thinks his men ought to have something to do as they are getting so eager that he can hardly manage them. I do not know what they will do with us But should not be surprised if we staid here this winter or yet a long time for I see no more prospects of getting away now than I did a month ago and then we are getting a cook house built. Last week we received from Government a Talma or large Rubber Overcoat and a Rubber Blanket. They are excellent things for wet weather. And I expect we will see more rain than snow this winter The weather has been very pleasant for the last two weeks warm enough to work with coat off and then the ground is not froze at all it is dry and very fine for Drill or travel.

I have been on duty for the last ten days but as luck would have it have not been on guard yet You need not be afraid of my sleeping on my post I know the penalty to well and then am more faithful to Duty. I suppose that since there is no school at Low Moor Mary you will board to Mrs. Hinmans and go to Emma I believe it would be better for you to go to Emma anyway. By the way Woodie how do you and the tools get along have you learned to carpenter yet, if not, you may use the tools and learn if you want to have you managed to brake Pet yet how does she get along and how is your calf and the stock generally, Is Mary's Black heifer as fat and heavy as ever, I hope it will be the *best* for Mary ought to have a good one. By the way have you any good fat Turkeys for Christmas or New

Years. I know if you have not you have plenty else that is good and I believe I could enjoy a weeks visit with you about that time as well as any one ever did I hope St. Nicholas will not forget you or any of the children at home I am sure he would not if I was there to wake up his ideas. But as I cannot be I shall hope for the best and make calculations to have a good *old time* when I do come. I expect we will have a good Dinner and undoubtedly a good time here Christmas at any rate I will let you know and I shall hope to hear from you concerning the good times you have. Fred and I have the promise of a pass Monday We shall go to the City. I want to trade some if I see any thing there that would interest you I will write You must write and let me know all the news from about home, and I will write immediately You must give my love to all the folks and reserve for yourself a good share excuse all errors. It is late so I will have to close but I will write more and I hope better next time I have not felt in a mood for writing this evening. Write soon and oblige your dear friend and cousin.

W. O. Gulick

P. S.—As Mary has written me twice more than Woodie I direct to her but want both to answer.

W. O. G.

Benton Barricks, St Louis Mo.

Co. M. 1st Ia Cavl, Dec. 19th/61

Dear folks at home,

I was made very happy last night by the arrival of three letters. One from the girls one from Lydia Frank, and one from W. H. Judson. The one from home was opened and read first, and as we have much more interest in each others affairs I shall answer yours now and the others when I get more time. The way I have time to write this is as I will

tell you. This morning I went out on Drill and a slight stich caught me in the side when I started I concluded I would come a *soldiers game on them* so I made believe I had quite a pain and got excused. I rode back to quarters and am now writing you. Am happy to say stich left my side when *I left* the ranks.

Now I would not have you think I take advantage of my Officers in this way very often. (Although many do) But I thought a letter from me now would be of interest to you as I know you are interested in any movements we make. We have received *marching orders*.⁵⁹ and have been in readiness for two days, evry day we expect to go and then it is deferred untill tomorrow. I do not know what is the reason we are kept waiting unless it is that we are to get our pistols and carbines. They tell us sure we are going tomorrow. But I shall not beleive it untill we start. I rather think we will get off this time as the Quarter Master for this Battallion has packed his effects, (and that is no small job) It may be a week and maybe a day, but all are anxious to start at once. We are told that we are going to join the Regt a part of which are at Jefferson City and a part on their way to Lexington [Mo.] They also tell us that we will see an engagement with Price⁶⁰ before two weeks. I know not the authority for such a report, but we all think it *too good* to be credited. Still I see by the papers that an attack on Price is expected and we only hope we may be

⁵⁹ The First Iowa Cavalry had been divided since October 18th, when companies A, B, F, and G had been sent west as the "First Battalion" under Captain Leffingwell, to join General Pope in West Central Missouri.

⁶⁰ Major General Sterling Price, a Missourian, had originally opposed the secession of his State, but, once the war was on, he cast his lot with the Southern faction. He secured a commission in the Confederate army, and figured prominently as a trouble maker for the Union armies in Missouri and Arkansas almost to the end of the war. In spite of frequent slights from Jefferson Davis, who had little confidence in any officer without a West Point education, he at all times gave his best service to his government.—*Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, Vol. I, pp. 263, 266, Vol. II, p. 724.

present to do our share of the fighting. If we go from here in the course of a day or two I will write and tell you, and also if we remain here I will let you know. I just expect we will be fooled after all and remain here idle as everything heretofore has turned out about the same way. I see by your letter you think we fair rather tough and are short of provisions. I guess you must have seen a piece in the Lyons Mirror of the 7th inst. I tell you that the person that wrote it must have been dissatisfied for he exaggerated very much. It is true one or two days we were short of rations but the Col. made it all right and I think we will not be bothered again. Our provisions are of the coarse such kind as Bread Meat Beans Rice etc. Coffee twic[e] in a day we generally have Bean soup or Rice and Beef soup for Dinner. Sometimes I get tired of soup and then I satisfy myself with a chunk of Bread & Meat *good enough for a soldier*. Our cooks do their best under the circumstances so none ought to complain. I was glad to hear that you were all together most to much for Mrs. Mudgett I hope that you can get some other room for school, besides our woodhouse as I think you would need it yourselves and then it would be too bad to cut wood out of doors again this winter. Unless you should have such weather as we have it is like May I work with my coat off and could all the time there is not a bit of frost in the ground and the other day when I was out of camp I see a man plowing yes and a patch of ground that he had *raised cotton* on. I see the stalks and they said cotton done *well* here. It is very pleasant Drilling now, yesterday we had a fine old time, as we went out in the woods to run and jump our horses over logs and Ditches. One horse however got killed but the rider was fortunate enough to escape harm. My horse jumps and runs well.

He is very gentle and does not get excited like many others I could not suit myself beter in chooseing a horse

again. I make him follow me and can do almost any thing with him

Monday Fred and I were down to the City We had (as a soldier says) a Bully time We rode all about the city to the Shot Tower, Levee, Court house, Reservoir &c, &c

Had Buckwheat pancakes & syrup & Butter for dinner (quite a luxury for a soldier) We also visited the Soldiers Semetery and among the many graves we see that of James M. Redfield, I suppose you have heard of his death or see a notice of it in the St. Louis Republican I sent you. His family must feel very bad and the citizens of Camanche also. Comeing back to camp we visited old *Camp Jackson* and see by what rout General Lyon⁶¹ came upon and surprised them. It is two miles south of us We also see Five or six different Forts or city fortification they are mounted with four, from 34 to 64 lbs., guns each. and I beleive there is ten of them just out side and surrounding the city. Some troops are laving nearly evry day and yesterday the (I cant call it) Battery left, at any rate it is an Artillery Co. with a number of field pieces composeing a Batery. I was quite surprised to hear that Doc. Lackey was in the army. If ever I come across the 42nd Regt, Ill. Vol. I shall surely look for him I was very much surprised and very glad to learn that John Dam had come to life again but where is he, with his co. or not I think they have a great many deaths in that Co. anyway. As I have heard of several Our Regt is very healthy you scarcely hear of one death and not one of our Co. have died and only a few sick. Your Soldiers aid Societies you speak of is good institutions. I do not know But I think the Hospitals are not as a general thing conducted properly.

⁶¹ Brigadier General Nathaniel Lyon, whose efficient handling of the situation at St. Louis in 1861 saved the great arsenal there to the Union and thus probably saved the State. He was killed at the battle of Wilson's Creek, on August 10, 1861.

The boys have come in from drill and our dinner is ready. Just returned from dinner and had good boiled Beans, Boiled Beef and soup with rice in it, and Bread, as it is very warm and pleasant I took my plate like many others, seated myself on the ground, of course had a very comfortable time eating my fill, which is no small amount, Our cook houses and eating sheds are nearly done if we stay here three or four days we will have the use of them You say Eligah Frank is back I should like to see and have a chat with him. If Pikes Peak is the place to make money he ought to have enough by this time to stay and improve his farm I am shure it can not be the place to live for comfort and enjoyment more than a year or two at a time one would get tired of it I should think

In regard to Mat. & Price I think it is time they were married. I am sorry I can not attend the wedding, Price promised me an invitation last spring. May be he intends to come Christmas or New Years. That is close by, only a week from yesterday I hope you will enjoy it, and if it would do any good I would wish my self with you. I may be cutting some big licks among the Rebels while you are enjoying a New Years Dinner I hope so and hear the boys talking about it now. There is no Drill this afternoon But we are all going to *grind our Sabers* so I guess I will have to close by giveing you all an invitation to write me when ever you can, children and all Mary & Woodie must answer my letter Tell them I beleive I shall get back to see them as soon as their Father but must be contented and all will be well in the end you must not trouble about my health I *am very healthy* and prepared to meet what ever testing the vicissitudes of *War* May Decree. I shall hope to hear from you soon excuse all errors for I have written as usual, *in haste*

Sincerely Yours W. O. Gulick

Benton Barracks, St. Louis, Mo.
Co. M. 1st Iowa Cavl. Dec. 23/61

Dear Mother

I knew you would be very anxious to hear from me, after my writing as I did, about our going from here. Well I will tell you the first thing the *order was countermanded* and we are going to remain here yet for some time to come. We waited for Three days expecting to start almost at any time. But it turned out about as usual. It seems we are bound to stay here, and as winter has set in with us, I do not know but that it is as well, for we can be more comfortable here than on a march. Yet all the boys regret that they could not go. And begin to be afraid they will not have a chance to do their share of the fighting, I do not wonder at it, for we have been here a long while. About the 20th it began to be quite cold and yesterday it snowed and rained all day and this morning it is quite cold. have about three in. snow. We have to drill as usual. and I have but little time to write. Today the last Squadron of Merrills Horse Regt⁶² go to join their Regt out West. You will notice they have an active part in the capture of those prisoners horses &c. also some of our Regt. I understand Yesterday was the first Sunday I have seen in a long time as for once (and a wonder too) we had nothing to do. I ans. Bill Coff letter, which I recd Saturday. Christmas is close at hand and I suppose you have snow now, for sleighriding. I hope you may all enjoy it. I believe I shall. We have the use of our cook and eating houses. They are much better than cooking and eating out of doors. My time is scarce this morning so I will close hoping to hear from you soon.

My love to all

Your Aff. Son.

W. O. Gulick

⁶² The second Missouri Cavalry (Union) was known as "Merrill's Horse".

P. S. In looking over my letter I find I have not written half that I want to, but have no time for amendments.

Our Gen.⁶³ is a perfect old pusillanimous tyrant. But he cannot get much the start of us.

Address Co. M. 1st Ia. Cavl.

Via, St. Louis

Mo.

Send me a few stamps. I cannot keep any with me —
If I had a thousand send a stamp at each time.

December 25th 1861

This day finds us quartered at St. Louis Mo. in the Fair grounds adjoining Benton Barracks, Our tents are more comfortable than the crowded barracks & our Battalion is the only troops here that have the advantage of them.

This has been a great day for Soldiers, with the morning came word for "drill as usual." But after geting in line (mounted) a second order come "No drill"[.] Now for enjoying Christmas. I rode about camp the greater part of the day as did many others for the very reason, *could not get out.* & although camp is quite extensive we learned it had its limits. Did not buy much as was too near strapped. Our "bill of fare" for dinner was Beef boiled with soup, boiled Hominy & bread. For Supper, Pork boiled Bread Coffee. rather poor fare for Christmas but enjoyed it much. I made acquaintance with Simon Price,⁶⁴ brother to my friend Alexander — & member of the Co. B. 2nd Iowa

⁶³ Probably Major General Halleck, who had replaced Fremont in chief command at St. Louis.

⁶⁴ Simon Price came from Marshall County to enlist, in July, 1861, was promoted to corporal early in 1863, and served out his term of enlistment, being mustered out on October 3, 1864.—*Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. IV, p. 359. Simon was a brother of William's friend Alexander Price to whom we noticed a reference in a previous letter with the advice that he get married. Price did later marry William's cousin Mattie, daughter of Abraham and Rebecca Gulick and sister of Isaac.

Cavl. This evening passed as did last — with Songs stories speeches &c. All bound to have a lively time.

December 30th 1861

From Christmas to the present time nothing of much importance has occurred. have had drills nearly every day. Some talk of marching but nothing looks much like it.

December 31st 1861

Has been a very fine day. We were out at Battalion drill this A. M. P. M. Fred & I recd. a box from home containing some very fine Cake Pie Butter Cheese Sausage &c. all of wich were much better to us than usual as it was from friends at home

For some unknown reason there was no guards at the gate. Fred & I took advantage of this opportunity to get out of camp, & we had the full benefits of a Ten mile ride about the City before we made our appearance in camp again found guards at gate but had no difficulty in geting through. We went to McDowels College (Now used as military prison) to see the 1,300 prisoners captured by the two battalions of Our Regt. (at Blackwater) now in Central Mo. They are guarded by the 2nd Iowa Inft. with cannon planted on the streets front of building.

I saw three ladies on the street opposite the prison who were crying but they could only wave handkerchiefs and exchange a silent look with their imprisoned friends, as admittance was not allowed.

About 8 oclock in the evening we recd marching orders or rathers orders to be in readiness at five minutes notice. After Saddleing & drawing our revolvers (the first we ever had) we stood, set, & lay, by our horses all night, but to no purpose. the riot (we suppose) they expected in the City did not take place.

January 1st A. D. 1862

The new year found us all ready for a fight. but the order came "Dress parade & drill" we thought it rather tough but never-the-less all turned out to spend a happy New Year in the *unpleasant way*.

After drill & dinner Our Company went out of Camp to the timber to discharge revolvers Some good shots were made, but one so poor or careless as to send a ball through a horses neck. Our New Years dinner was about the same as Christmas except we had some of the nicknacks we had recd from home for desert No reason to complain of my first New Years in camp. I was detailed for Stable guard at night.

January 2nd 1862

I came off guard at Seven ocl'k, The day set in stormy & continued to rain snow & hail enough to keep us from Drilling — Luckey Soldiers us! nothing to do but care for ourselves & horses. passed the day by reading Harpers Monthly & papers furnished by mess fund. The evening mail brought me a letter from Mary & Cynthia It was a welcome visitor

Friday Jan. 3rd 1862

The weather continues wet and stormy. ground is covered with snow & ice about two inches deep. not very cold & thawing. No drill, so those who are not on guard have comfortable times. The boys have passed the day in the tent, reading & playing checkers for passtime Evening mail brought me a letter.

[The beginning of this letter is missing.]

had Boiled Pork, Bread, & Coffee. I enjoyed this *very much* but not so well as did I the Pie and supper Fred and

I had at a Salloon. By your letters, you supposed we had recd. the Box you sent us with Long. But you have Probably learned that Long did not bring it. Although he was here two days The box was sent by Express and we received it the day before New Years. We were rejoiced to get so many very nice cakes and nicknacks from home. just for New Years too. Mr. Moody one of our Mess also got a box from home so for New Years dinner we fared pretty well. I must tell you how we passed the day & night before New Years. For some reason there was no guards at the gate Fred & I took advantage of this opportunity to get out of camp and had the full benifits of a ten miles ride before we returned. We were nearly all over the city from the North Mo. R R Station to the Pacific R. R. Depot from there down to where the Prisoners are kept (I mean those 1,300 that were taken not long since.)⁶⁵ They are all kept in a large stone College and guarded by the Ia 2nd Regt Inft Canons are stationed on the streets with a range all about the College. During my stay of half an hour quite an affecting seen took place. Three ladies came up on the opposite side of the street (as near as any one are allowed) after a few moments they espied their friend looking from the Prison window. they seemed to feel very bad and cried for a long time. they could only wave Handkerchiefs and look at each other in silence. No person is allowed to pass the guards unless with a pass from Gen. Hallock. We got back to camp about Sundown made a good supper on what you

⁶⁵ On December 18, 1861, a part of General Pope's army surrounded a detachment of Confederates at Milford, Missouri, on Blackwater Creek. General Halleck's report and General Pope's letter verify Gulick's statement that 1300 prisoners were taken. In addition 1000 stands of arms, 1000 horses, 65 wagons, and a large quantity of tents, baggage, and supplies were captured. The Union loss was only two killed and eight wounded. The First and Second Battalions of the First Iowa Cavalry were engaged in this battle, while the Third Battalion, including Gulick's company, remained at Benton Barracks.—*Official Records: War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. VIII, pp. 37, 447.

sent us. About Eight oclock we had orders to saddle & Bridle our horses & pack evry thing for a march, to stand or stay by our horses with our arms all ready to march at a moments notice We received our Revolvers well loaded at the same time

I do not know *where* we were to go and as we did not march, *I don't care*. I only know that we slept by our horses and on our arms, the little we did sleep New Years morning found us all ready and waiting for a march. But then came the order Dress parade & Drill as usual. We thought this rather tough but nevertheless all went out. After noon we had Target shooting from off horse on walk and trot. One man shot his horse through the neck. The rest of the day passed pretty well for a soldier. Since then The weather has been quite wet and storming & now we have about two inches of snow & ice

We have but little to do when it is stormy I pass the most of the day in takeing care of my horse and reading Our mess furnish Harpers Monthly and papers to read. Besides I have commenced reading my Testament through I am now some where in Corrinthian. By the way I wish to make an inquiry. Have you received a paper from Hagamans Mills with an Ambrotype in it I received a letter from M. P.⁶⁶ the first since I left Burlington she said she sent her ambrotype in a paper and directed to Low Moor thinking it would go more safe. I hope you have all passed as pleasant a New Years as you did a Christmas. I should like very much to send you some presents but it is quite difcult to get down to the city now as only one Private from a Co. is allowed a pass. I received a letter from Eugene⁶⁷ & Lydia and a great many others that I have not answered. Fred is hurrying me for he is going to the P. O.

⁶⁶ "M. P." is Mary (Mrs. Woodworth) Parkes, William's cousin.

⁶⁷ Eugene Wagner, brother of Richard Wagner.

I have not felt like writing today and you must excuse all errors do not show this to the neighbors I beg I will write soon and I hope better.

W. O. Gulick

Saturday Jan. 4th 1862

Weather cold wet & disagreeable. No drill. Recd. pay in afternoon from U. S. government for the second time Two months pay (\$26.00) Twenty six Dol

Sunday Jan. 5th 1862

Was stormy, had no drill or review as we usually do. I wrote a letter & sent in it a Ten dol. note or Greenback. I settled my various accounts After paying our cooks they "vamoused the ranch".

Monday Jan. 6th 1862

Still cold & quite slippery. Went out mounted on dress-parade had Saber drill or exersise. Charlie James came here went out riding, had oyster soup & good time in general

Tuesday Jan 7th 1862

had dress parad & drill as usual with Saber exersize in P. M. grew some warmer——appearance of rain

Wednesday Jan 8th 1862

We had considerable rain last night so wet & slippery could not drill, only with saber. A national salute was fired in selabration of the New Orleans battle.⁶⁸ continued

⁶⁸ This refers to Jackson's victory over the British at New Orleans on January 8, 1815. It must not be confused with the capture of New Orleans by the Union fleet under Admiral Farragut, which did not occur until the last week of April, 1862.

warm. become quite muddy. Took supper with Mc at saloon. I brought home can oysters

Thursday Jan 9th 1862

Was very muddy & wet but the boys were out at Batl drill⁶⁹ came in well daubed with mud. I had quite sore throat, was excused from duty. I took dinner at saloon. Young Roberts⁷⁰ of our mess & three revolvers are missing. Capt. & two men went to the City to find him, but came back after a fruitless search. (Said Roberts was suspected of thieving on former occasion[])

Friday Jan. 10th 1862

Still very muddy growing colder no drill but with saber. I was excused from that. The Co. purchased new lot of tin plates, cups, & other cooking utensils Our old cook *Bill* with new partner came back to cook again. They are poor excuses — but a poor negro rather than none.

I wrote H. H. Judson a letter

Sunday Jan 12th 1862

was very cold & growing colder. We had inspection & review on foot. The usual ceremonies were gone through in a hurry marched double quick to quarters

Yesterday Three men were Court marshaled. One of them Sergeant Rice⁷¹ was reduced to the ranks for Thirty

⁶⁹ Battalion drill.

⁷⁰ Henry Roberts, of Company M, enlisted on October 15, 1861, and is recorded by Lothrop as having deserted January 11, 1862. Evidently he was not "given up for lost" until two days after Gulick had recorded the fact of his suspicious absence.—Lothrop's *A History of the First Regiment Iowa Cavalry Veteran Volunteers*, p. 422.

⁷¹ Sergeant Rice seems to have been a character often in trouble. The *Roster of Iowa Soldiers* does not mention the particular penalty here noted, but it does record a later reduction to the ranks occurring on May 22, 1862. George W. Rice, who is probably the one Gulick means — John C. Rice of the

days as punishment

These cold days are passed very pleasantly by reading & writing

January 13th 14th & 15th

1862

During this time we have had one of the coldest days of the winter. Still had to come out on dress parade.

The Iowa 7th Inft. Ills. 55th Inft & Douglas brigade left Camp — the 13th. I was on grand guard at the southern gate of the 14th during which time it snowed two inches I walked my beat eight hours of the Twenty four I wrote a letter & also recd one from home.

Thursday Jan 16th 1862

Was pretty cold. dressparad with Captain Thompson of Co. E. commanding, as Col. Warren was under arrest. Charges prefered by Maj. Chamberlain. After his arrest Co.s E & L went out Tuesday evening to cheer him, but K. & M. would not pay him the respect We drew clothing from government.

Saturday Jan. 18th 1862

Yesterday we had drill as usual in A. M. but in the afternoon our Co. went out riding to see the country. We took the plank road leading west from the City went out as far as the Eight mile Tavern. the country all the way was very fine with rich improvements dark found us snug in quarters.

To day has been very wet & disagreeable. I had a touch same company never rose above a private — re-enlisted on February 22, 1864, and in September following was promoted to Company Quartermaster Sergeant.—*Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. IV, p. 165.

of my old complaint Sick-headache. Recd. letter from Aaron Marselus⁷² & papers from Lorrett

Benton Barracks, St. Louis Mo.
Co, M. 1st Ia Cavl, Jan 19th/62

Dear Sister Emma

I was made very happy the other day by the arrival of your letter, for it was the first I had recd from any body for a long time. But I guess it is my own fault for I have not written much lately. It seems my whole time is occupied, generally drilling. But of late it has been quite cold and I had no place but the tent to write in, and the boys are generally doing something to disturb one when writing. I believe I never mentioned that we have a violin & guitar in our mess and two good players you may imagine we have some lively times, and if a person attempts to write in the evening, he cannot compose his mind long enough to write half a letter. You must not give your self any trouble if I do not write. On the whole I believe I have written as often as you have. I was glad to hear you had received the money I sent and done so well with it You will find (7.00) seven Dollars enclosed to use as you desire. You said you was glad to learn that I was still in St. Louis and dreaded the time when we should have to leave. You must not think so for I am tired of this place and would be glad to get any where & all the boys are very anxious for a move I think it is time we took the fields for a while. But the prospect for us to leave here are rather dubious now as our Col. & Maj. are both under arrest⁷³ and I understand their trial

⁷² Aaron Marselus (Marcellus), some friend at home. Nothing specific was found concerning him.

⁷³ The same arrest, presumably, as that recorded in the journal entry of January 16th. No record of the charges is at hand, but they could hardly have been very serious in view of Col. Warren's retention of rank and his promotion a few months later.

will not come off for at least a month I do not know what the charges are against them. But our company is down on the Col. I do not know why our Regt should meet with so much trouble. I know it is as good as any there is. We have been bothered to get our arms, and every thing we needed. We received a lot of clothing last week all can draw what they want I drew pair pantaloons and shirt One of our Co. starts for Mt. Vernon on a furlough today. he has been sick for a long time. there is but little sickness in camp now or at least in our Regt. I see notice of Luther Halls death I knew he was sick in the city. Fred and I did try to get a pass to see him but could not. I wish Cornelus Hall had called on us I should like to see some one from home that I knew. There has quite a number of troops left here lately I suppose to join some expedition for the south. I did hope we might go with Jim Lanes expedition but I am afraid there is no show for us now. I received a letter from Uncle Smith last week I shall answer the first opportunity I have Lydia Frank and several others letters I do not know when I shall get time to write them but I do not intend to write as much as I have except home and I want you to write as often as you can all hands. I received the standard also Chicago Tribune from Lorrett, I wish you would send the Standard as often as you can make it convenient also the Amsterdam Recorder I sent you the Harpers & Illustrated News last week. I have tryde twice to get my likeness taken on horseback for Henry and some of you but could not get it I might get it down town if I could get a pass. The price \$25 rather dear I think. A dozen of us intended to have a photograph of a group taken around a camp fire., but the boys after going one cloudy day give it up.

You said a long time ago that you would send me your likenesses I want you to take the two gold Doll. I send in

this letter and as much more of this money as you need and have all your likenesses taken and send them to me You can send a number of plates in one case. I should like to have sent you all a New Years present, but could not very handy. Will wait until I can come and bring it myself I know not when this may be but I trust it *will be* some time. You know Fred lost his money first pay day Well the fellow we suspected, after last pay day stole six dol, and three revolvers then deserted and although they looked for him three days they could hear nothing from him Fred I think is rather unlucky the other day he had his money out standing by the fire when he let drop a dol. Bill, it was consumed I am on Horse & mule guard today I only have about a dozen horses & mules to take care off. the only bother is to lead them to water. We have to stand Grand guard about once a week. More than common as there is not many troops in camp. The wounded of the First Iowa Cavl in the Battle of Silver Creek are here in our Hospital One poor fellow is shot pretty badly through the shoulder another through the under jaw but both will recover There are several cases of the mumps in our co, But I believe I have had them at all events I have been exposed to them and have not caught them. I was glad Eugene did not have the measles for it would have been dreadful for you all & I should have been very much alarmed.

You say Price⁷⁴ is down how I should like to see him and have an old fashion chat. Why dont he get married I think he is a brave fellow if he goes back with out makeing some Union movements Tell him to answer my letter and explain himself for not writing before this time. I see his brother Simon Quite often. Do you hear from Isaac very often. I should like to write and hear from him if I knew

⁷⁴ Gulick's friend and (later) cousin by marriage, Alexander Price. He is not to be confused with the Confederate general, Sterling Price.

his adress. I think letters from him might be very interesting I think the cold weather for the winter is over for the last few days it has been quite rainy, the mud is about ankle deep, fine for our horses on drill. Last week our Co went out riding in the country stoped at an old tavern many of the boys enjoyed a glass of beer. Came back another rout I tell you we enjoyed it as we had not been out of camp for a long time. It is a very fine country for farming plenty of timber & water.

But it is time I bring this uninteresting letter to a close. I shall expect to hear from you all soon. You might all write me I should think, and not be particular about my answer. I have not any thing of interest to write Give my love to all the folks and dear friends. (I must go and tend to the mules) so good by

Your Dear Brother
W. O. Gulick

Sunday Jan 19th 1862

I was on horse & mule guard had to stand Four hour during the night in consequent of the 2nd Ohio Cavl. coming in camp near our grain & horses. About 9 ocl'k P. M. one of said regt. was shot—(purposely I guess) by one of our boys near my beat. The ball passed through knee joint making amputation a necessity or death certain. We understand this regt. expect to go with Gen Jim Lanes expedition. now talked of as going through the South West

I wrote a letter home & with it sent Seven Dol. (\$7.00) as a present.

Tuesday Jan 21st 1862

(Nothing occurred yesterday of note more than had no drill as it was too muddy I wrote Aaron M. a letter & called at Mr. Stockins) — — — — Was very comfortable day had

Battalion drill A. M. - - P. M. Fred & I, or rather, whole company took quite a pleasant ride about the City The 43rd Ill. Inf. regt. came in the Barracks. I was on detail to carry water, a distance of Sixty rods—as the water works are stoped in the Fairgrounds I ans a letter from L. M. Frank

Wednesday January 22nd 1862

Was a pretty fare day Battalion drill this A. M. rather than drill P. M. I went to draw wood. But did not make *much*, as the company instead of drill went out on a pleasure trip to the Arsenal—say they had fine time.

A horse race took place on the track here between horse from Our Regt. and a Mich. horse Our boys lost, for the first it may be a hint to quit.

Our cooks just returned from a two or three day spree. Johnson of our Co. was arrested for theft & taken to guard-house Charges may be unfounded.

Thursday Jan 23rd 1862

Very pleasant. drill forenoon, & P. M. went out on a pleasure trip Our rout was to center of City from there north to the 2 mill [mile?] house, where an opportunity was given for the men to refresh themselves with anything not stronger than beer

Sunday Jan 26th 1862

Friday, we took a pleasure trip after drill. At dinner some of boys & cooks had a quarrel. Would have been quite serious had it not been stoped by officers. Saturday I was on Mule guard very light duty indeed. My horse *Charls-Samuel* was shod—our blaksmiths are not the best in the *world*. I wrote Uncle Smith a letter. Boys were

out on review Lt. Col. Moss⁷⁵ commanding boys say a fine man but poor drill master

This Sunday evening I have just returned from taking a bath.

Although I was on guard yesterday I was detailed to carry water. not very pleasant duty, had no drill very pleasant & comfortable for winter weather. I wrote Eugene & Lydia a letter.

Monday Jan 27th 1862

Was very rainy & wet nothing to do but lay around tent & that is very disagreeable. So many together — Fourteen

Tuesday Jan 28th 1862

Wet & stormy could do little but read. I found good entertainment with the Atlantic Monthly

About Eight o'clock in the evening recd "marching orders", to be ready at Two O'clock A. M. in a short time revolvers were loaded & everything in readiness Night set in dark & stormy, but we went early to bed to enjoy a snooze before our early departure

Wednesday Jan 29th 1862

Two oclock A. M. found us ready to set out on our march. The morning was stormy, the clouds hung low. It seemed to pour with more unswerving aim, the continual storm of sleet & snow on our devoted heads.

A march of four miles brought us at the Pacific R. R. depot, where we(r) [we?] were to receive 210 prisoners. (They were soldier of the 3rd Mo. regt arrested for mutiny.

⁷⁵ Charles E. Moss of Keokuk, who was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the First Iowa Cavalry on June 13, 1861. Gulick's reference to the man as a "poor drill master" does not lack significance when it is noticed in the *Iowa Roster* that he resigned on June 28, 1862 — no cause given.— *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. IV, p. 18.

They rebelled on account of change of commander) We escorted them to Benton barracks where they were lodged in guardhouse.

The march for them was tedious they wore shoes but the mud & water came over their tops. Noon found us at our quarters pretty tired, but as it was the first sweet taste of soldiering none complained.

Friday Jan. 31st 1862

To day as well as yesterday was cold & raw. had review I was excused by Doc. had sore throat. I wrote a letter home, one also to Isaac Gulick⁷⁶

Saturday Feb. 1st 1862

I was on mounted patrol guard. I like this the best of any, as we only have to ride about the parade ground during the daytime, with orders to collect passes from peddlers. If any are minus the proper pass their goods are confiscated, generally appropriated to the soldiers own use. We were taken from other guard as the boys would permit each other to pass out without a proper pass. But this has not the desired effect as the[y] can & will get out

Quite a stir among the boys, arising from the report that an opportunity is offered to transfer soldiers to the gunboat service. Would like I think

Sunday February 2nd 1862

Quite pleasant, but little to do. This P. M. had Dress-parade, for the first time without officers the Non. Coms done well

The evening set in with snow storm, continued stormy

⁷⁶ Isaac's company (B), as previously noticed, went west in October as part of the First Battalion. Captain Leffingwell was acting as major of this battalion.

Monday A. M. Co. drill mounted. afternoon nothing transpired of more than usual occurrence

Tuesday Feb 4th 1862

Col. Moss took the battalion out riding went out west on the plank road six miles, coming back he treated the boys to Beer. had a pleasant trip.

We learned when we came in camp that Jerome Church was dead. he has been sick several days at the hospital This is the first man we have lost from our Co. I recd a letter from A. Marselas

Wednesday Feb. 5th 1862

Prepared to go to Churches funeral⁷⁷ after we were all in line a vote was taken & carried to send his remains home (to Clinton Ioa) We marched to the City escorted the hearse to the Express office & returned to camp.

The march was quite tedious. Snow melting & disappearing fast night set in rainy, recd a letter from Uncle Smith.

Thursday Feb 6th 1862

Was pretty wet & muddy I was on fatigue duty. But our corporal & whole squad concluded to *play off* It didn't work well as they sent after us. We reported to the wrong place & was sent to quarters.

Friday the 7th Our whole squad was again *detailed* for *same duty* for our non-appearance yesterday We recd our tools and went to clean quarters as directed after starting a comfortable fire we made ourselves at home & concluded to live without work, so fatigue duty played out.

⁷⁷ Jerome L. Church of Company M died on February 4, 1862, at Benton Barracks, of typhoid fever.—Lothrop's *A History of the First Regiment Iowa Cavalry Veteran Volunteers*, p. 421.

Our Battalion had orders to move to the barracks as they were vacant now

Saturday Feb 8th 1862

Again it is very cold had little snow They seemed to think we had not got enough of *fatigue duty* so we were again detailed, but this time we made a clean thing as we did not report at all & *our* Co. was too busy *moving* to notice the difference. This is the first time *I or any of us* ever *played* off duty but as we did not live in the barracks we did not think it right to clean up for other troops or rather help them. After(s) we were all snugly stowed away in Qrs. No. 5, orders come for us to move to No. 8. this was a hard one, & made some of the boys realy swear, but they forgot it all in the evening when they had a rousing stag danc[e]

Sunday Feb 9th 1862

Was quite pleasant. Our first day in the barracks was occupied in cleaning up. Our grub runs rather short. had matters looked into concerning our Quarter Master and ration arangement Troops have been leaving here for several days 6,000 reported this noon still in Camp. A number of the boys have mumps

Tuesday February 11th 1862

Last night it rained consequently it is very muddy drilling, still have it to do. I was on Stable guard last night These dark nights afford great opportunity for the boys to *draw chickens*, geese & occasionaly a porker. A soldier of Co. K, had his nose bit off by his horse, [illegible] I learn the 2nd Ia Inft. left the City yesterday have been guarding prisoners.

The stables connected with the barracks are just finished.

I heard it stated from good authority, that they are twelve miles in length Yesterday we drew Ten days rations & I guess will not fall short again.

Thursday Feb 13th 1862

Drilled as usual yesterday, but today I was on patrol guard, had gay & festive time, came off[f] at one oclock P. M. about the time it commenced snowing. It continued stormy & grew colder. I recd my sisters Cynthia & Emma Ambrotype

Saturday February 15th/62

Yesterday was to cold to do anything outdoors we had good news from Springfield Mo. Price retreating. boys had a gay & festive dance last night.

To day weather moderating I was detailed to tend those sick with mumps. Am exempt from other duty & well I might be as I have to sit up half the night. A number of the boys got on a drunken spree & five were sent to the guardhouse (A gentle punishment indeed for such chaps)

Monday Feb. 18th 1862

I succeed quite well in my capacity as nurse. Corp. Hoops⁷⁸ is with me. The boys are getting better The night wach is rather lonesome

The Iowa 2nd Cavl. & Mich. Battery left camp. I called on Simon Price before he left, was sorry to see so many troops leave & remain ourselves.

Just after dinner a dispatch came that brought the glorious intelligence of the capture of Ft. Donaldson. [Donelson] A few moments elapsed & the whole camp was aroused from its quiet & dullness exultant shouts & cheers

⁷⁸ John M. Hoops was at this time 6th corporal in Company M. When mustered out (September 9, 1864) he was company commissary sergeant.

rang along the whole line of barracks. Ere twenty minutes passed a field Battery was drawn up in front of the Gen. H. Quart⁷⁹ ready to fire a national salute. Gen. Strong⁸⁰ & staff were seen to mount the stage. Soldiers from all qr gathered around by hundreds Bands were playing national airs after Twenty salutes were fired, & the crowds amounted to some thousand Gen. Strong read the following dispatch from Maj. Gen. Halleck.

“Feb 16th Ft. Donaldson has surrendered with 15,000 prisoners, including Gens. Buckner Pillow & Johnson” again cheers rang along the line such only as thousands of rejoised soldiers can give. after some remarks by Gen Strong & prayer by Chaplan of 3rd Mo. regt. 14 shots were fired making a round Thirty four for the Union. Cheer for the Flag closed the jubille & the crowd dispersed to qr.

Our Co. went to City this P. M. on a pleasure trip. Say they had good time.

⁷⁹ General Headquarters.

⁸⁰ Either Major General Geo. C. Strong or Brigadier General William E. Strong.

A MARK TWAIN LETTER

Samuel L. Clemens, having failed to get rich quick in the Humboldt mines, Nevada Territory, set out in February, 1862, to try his fortune in the Esmeralda region. When he arrived, a deep snow unfortunately covered the hills: there was nothing to do, and, according to Albert Bigelow Paine, "nothing to report; for there are no letters until April."¹ However, a letter recently discovered in the old files of the *Keokuk Gate City*² indicates not only that Sam Clemens subjected himself to the discomforts of the Esmeralda camp for a shorter period of time than Paine supposed, but that even before the Esmeralda venture threatened to fail, the old literary impulse was by no means dormant.

The letter, addressed to his mother at St. Louis, Missouri,³ is dated from Carson City, Nevada Territory, March 20, 1862. Although it reveals nothing of the plans and activities of the Esmeralda miner, temporarily sojourning in Carson, like previous letters to her, it contains a delightful mixture of humorous exaggeration and descriptive accuracy. Particularly amusing to those aware of Mrs. Jane Clemens's strong aversion for card playing will be the repeated reference to the "noble game of Poker" and Sam's advice that she make notes concerning the game in the flyleaf of her apparently favorite pious book, *The*

¹ Paine's *Mark Twain's Letters*, Vol. I, p. 69. Paine's collection shows a gap in the letters between February 8, and April 2, 1862.

² June 25, 1862.

³ Mrs. Jane Clemens probably forwarded the letter to Mrs. Orion Clemens at Keokuk who offered it to the local paper.

Whole Duty of Man. It was probably a letter of this nature which led Mrs. Clemens during those days to express the hope that her son might some day do better and write something "that his kin will be proud of."⁴

The reference to the Secretary of the Territory and his preference for quartz mills rather than for buzzards as a part of the Territorial seal takes on interest when it is recalled that the Secretary was Orion Clemens, Sam's older brother. To supervise the making of the seal was one of Orion's first official duties, and since Sam was still acting as Orion's secretary at the time the seal was planned, it is quite probable that he himself had a hand in the matter. The act to provide the seal was approved on November 29, 1861, and read as follows:

Section 1. That the design of such a seal shall be as follows: Mountains, with a stream of water coursing down their sides, and falling on the overshot water wheel of a quartz-mill at their base; a miner leaning on his pick, and upholding a United States Flag, with a motto expressing the two ideas of loyalty to the Union and the wealth to sustain it. "Volens et Potens."

Section 2. And, be it further enacted, That the Secretary of the Territory be, and is hereby appointed to have general supervision of the preparation of the design and the cutting of the seal.⁵

It is from a literary point of view, however, that the letter is especially interesting, for here again we find Clemens attempting a definite literary device. Some years previously he had sought to achieve humor in the Snodgrass letters, written for the *Keokuk Post* in 1856, by pretending

⁴ Paine's *Mark Twain's Letters*, Vol. I, p. 81, footnote. It is barely possible that Mrs. Clemens's remark refers to the recently discovered letter. In that case Paine either failed to look for the letter in the *Keokuk Gate City*, or failed to find it.

⁵ *Laws of Nevada*, 1861, Ch. LXXXVIII, p. 295. A transcription of the act quoted above was supplied by V. M. Henderson, Nevada State Library, January 8, 1930.

illiteracy. In the present letter he has varied the device by pretending an amusing ignorance on the part of his mother. It may be that Mrs. Clemens failed to recognize the well-known line of Pope with which Sam begins his letter. It is exceedingly doubtful that she confused Daniel with Noah Webster. Incredible indeed is the assumption that Jane Clemens, on or near the frontier many years of her life, should have asked the questions Sam ascribes to her. It is obvious that the questions have been invented, or, at least, greatly exaggerated, in order to allow opportunity for a humorous reply. It is probable the device suggested itself to Clemens quite naturally while answering some of his mother's earlier questions concerning conditions in the new country. An examination of his letter of October 26, 1861, to his mother will be interesting from this point of view.⁶

FRED W. LORCH

IOWA STATE COLLEGE
AMES IOWA

THE LETTER

Carson City, March 20, 1862

My dear Mother:—

Lo! the poor Indian, whose untutored mind,
Impels him, in order to raise the wind,
To double the pot and go it blind,
Until he's busted, you know.

I wrote the three last lines of that poem, Ma, and Daniel Webster wrote the other one — which was really very good for Daniel, considering that he wasn't a natural poet. He used to say to himself, that unabridged dictionaries was

⁶ For the letter dated October 26, 1861, see *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 453-456. Paine's fragment of the same letter in his *Mark Twain's Letters*, Vol. I, pp. 53-55, fails to include the questions ascribed to Mrs. Clemens.

his strong suit. Now if you should happen to get aground on those two mysterious expressions in the third line, let me caution you, Madam, before you reach after that inevitable "Whole Duty of Man," that you'll not be likely to find any explanation of them in that useful and highly entertaining volume, because I've got that learned author cornered at last — got the dead wood on him, Ma — and you'll get no consolation out of him, you know; for those are Poker expressions — technical terms made use of in the noble game of Poker. And Poker not being a duty of man at all, is probably not even mentioned in that book; therefore, I have got him, Madam, where he can neither trump nor follow suit.

Bully for me.

But you said in your last, "Do tell me all about the lordly sons of the forest, and the graceful and beautiful sq-squaws, (what an unpleasant word,) sweeping over the prairies on their fiery steeds, or chasing the timid deer, or reposing in the shade of some grand old tree, lulled by the soft music of murmuring brooks and warbling birds—*do*."

Gently, now, — gent-ly, Madam. You *can't* mean the Pi-Utes, or the Washoes, or the Shoshones, do you? Because if you do, you are barking up the wrong tree, you know; or in other words, you've got the wrong sow by the ear, Madam. For among those tribes there are no lordly sons of the forest, for the ferocious reason that there are no forests of any consequence here. At any rate, I am confident that those fellows are never designated by that name in this Territory. Generally speaking, we call them sons of the devil, when we can't think of anything worse. And they don't sweep over the prairie on their fiery steeds, — these Washoes, and Pi-Utes and Shoshones, don't — because they haven't got any, you know. And there are no prairies, Ma, because sage-brush deserts don't come under that

head, in this portion of Paradise Lost. Nor they don't chase the timid deer; nor they don't repose in the shade of some grand old tree; nor they don't get lulled by the soft murmuring brooks and warbling birds. None of them. Because, when the timid deer come prospecting around here, and find that hay is worth one hundred and fifty dollars a ton, and sage brush isn't good to eat, they just turn their bob-tails toward the rising sun and skedaddle, my dear. — And all that about these Pi-Utes sunning themselves in the shade of the grand old trees, is a grand old humbug, you know — on account of the scarcity of the raw material. Also the item about the warbling birds. Because there are no warbling birds here, except magpies, and turkey-buzzards. — And they don't warble any to signify, because if they fooled their time away with that sort of nonsense they would starve to death, suddenly. I tell you, Madam, that when a buzzard moves his family into Nevada Territory, he soon discovers that he has got to shin around and earn his living by the sweat of his brow, and that singing is played out with *him*. Moreover, Ma, you know as well as any one what a great puffed-up stupid buzzard looks like, so you can picture the bird to yourself as I invariably see him here — standing solemnly on a decomposed ox, (and looking for the world as if he had his hands under his coat-tails,) with his head canted to one side, his left leg advanced to steady himself, and chewing a fragrant thing of entrails with their ends dangling about his patly bosom. I ask you in all candor, Madam, if the best disposed buzzard in the world could warble under such circumstances? Scasely. But wouldn't it make a bully coat of arms for the Territory?—neat and appropriate, and all that? And wouldn't it look gay on the great seal, and the military commissions, and so forth, and so on, and et cetera? I proposed it, but the Secretary of the Territory said it was

“disgusting.” So he got one put through the legislature with star-spangled banners and quartz mills and things in it. And nary buzzard. It is all right, perhaps — but *I* know there are more buzzards than quartz mills in Nevada Territory. I understand it though — he wanted the glory of discovering and inventing and designing the coat-of-arms of this great Territory — savvy? [sic] — with a lot of barbarous latin about “*Volen and Potens*” — (able and willing, you know) which would have done just as well for my buzzard as it does for his quartz-mills. But if you want a full and correct account of these lovely Indians — not gleaned from Cooper’s novels, Madam, but the result of personal observation — a strictly reliable account, which you could bet on with as much confidence as you could on four aces, you will find that on that subject I am a Fund of useful information to which the whole duty of man isn’t a circumstance. For instance: imagine this warrior Hoop-de-doodle-doo, head chief of the Washoes. He is five feet seven inches high; has a very broad face, whose coat of red paint is getting spotty and dim in consequence of accumulating dirt and grease; his hair is black and straight, and dangles about his shoulders; his battered stove pipe hat is trimmed all over with bits of gaudy ribbon and tarnished artificial flowers, and he wears it sometimes over his eyes, with an exceedingly gallus air, and sometimes on the back of his head; on his feet he wears one boot and one shoe — very ancient; his imperial robe, which almost drags the ground, is composed of a vast number of light-gray rabbit skins sewed together; but the crowning glory of his costume, (which he sports on great occasions is corduroy pants, and dispensing with the robe,) is a set of ladies’ patent extension steel-spring hoops, presented to him by Governor Nye — and when he gets that arrangement on, he looks like a very long and very bob-tailed bird in a cage

that isn't big enough for him. Now, Ma, you know what the Warrior Hoop-de-doodle-doo looks like — and if you desire to know what he smells like, let him stand by the stove a moment but have your hartshorn handy, for I tell you he could give the stink pots of Sebastopol four in the game and skunk them. Follow him, too, when he goes out, and burn gun powder in his footsteps; because wherever he walks he sheds vermin of such prodigious size that the smallest specimen could swallow a grain of wheat without straining at it, and still feel hungry. You must not suppose that the Warrior drops these vermin from choice, though. By no means, Madam — for he knows something about theme which you don't; viz, that they are good to eat.⁷ There now. Can you find anything like that in Cooper? Perhaps not. Yet I could go before a Magistrate and testify that the portrait is correct in every particular. Old Hoop himself would say it was "heap good."

This morning I had a visit from three of the head-chief Hoop-de-doodle-doo's wives — graceful, beautiful creatures, called respectively, Timid-Rat, Soaring Lark, and Gentle Wild-Cat. (You see, like all Indians, they glory in high sounding names,) they had broad, flat faces, which were dirty to the extreme of fashion, they wore the royal rabbit-skin robe, their stringy, matted hair hung nearly to their waists, they had forgotten their shoes, and left their bonnets at home, only one of them wore jewelry, the Timid-Rat around whose leathery throat was suspended a regal necklace composed of scraps of tin. Their shapeless[?] caused them to resemble three great muffs. The young chief Bottled Thunder was with the party, bottled up in a sort of long basket and strapped to the back of the Soaring Lark.

⁷ "Pere Le Jeune tells us that the Iroquois ate the fleas and lice with which they were infested; not that they liked to eat them, but in order to get even with the pests."— Repplier's *Pere Marquette*, p. 42.

Also a juvenile muff in the person of the Princess Invisible Rainbow, with a cigar box strapped to her back, containing a bogus infant made of rags — which leads me to suspect that a weakness for doll-babies is not a result of education, but an instinct which comes as natural to any species of girl as keeping clothing store does to a Jew.

You see, Ma, I was taking breakfast with a friend, this morning, and the Princesses came and rested their elbows on the window sill and thrust their heads in, like three very ancient and smoky portraits trying to get out of their frame. They examined the breakfast leisurely, and criticized it in their own tongue; they pointed at each article of food, with their long, skinny, fingers, and asked each other's opinion about it; and they kept an accurate record of each mouthful we took, and figured up the total, occasionally. — After a while the Gentle Wild Cat remarked: "May be whity man no heap eat um grass-hopper?" (their principal article of diet, Ma,) and John replied, "May be whity man no heap like um grass-hopper — savvy!" And thus the Lark: "May be bimeby Ingun heap ketch um sage-hen." "Sage-hen heap good — bully!" said John. You see, these savages speak broken English, Madam, and you've got to answer accordingly, because they can't understand the unfractured article, you know. We held further conversation with them, of the same interesting character, after which we closed the "talk" by giving them a bar of soap and a cup of coffee for breakfast, and requesting them to leave, which they did, after they had begged a few old shirts, boots, hats, etc., and a deck of cards. — They adjourned to the wood pile, and resolved to poker a little — for these Indians are inveterate gamblers, ma. First they "dealt" and "antied," threw up their "hands," and "doubled" the pot, and dealt again. This time the Gentle Wild Cat "went blind," to the extent of a pair of boots; the Timid

Rat "saw the blind," although it took a check shirt and a Peruvian hat to "come in;" the Soaring Lark "straddled the blind," which created a sensation, you know, and seemed to cause the other ladies great anxiety of mind, as to whether the Lark held an "acefull," or was only "bluffing." However, when an Indian gets to gambling he doesn't care a cent for expenses, so they rallied and "came in" handsomely. And the way old clothes were piled up then, when the betting had fairly commenced; was interesting. As soon as one Princess would bet a hat, another would "see that hat" and "go a pair of socks better;" until the Timid Rat had staked her darling necklace, and the Gentle Wild Cat's last shirt was on the pile. At this stage of the game, great excitement prevailed, and the Soaring Lark was in despair, for she couldn't "come in." Presently, aware that she was the centre of an absorbing interest, and appreciating the grandeur of her position, she grew desperate and gallantly "called" her opponents, for she unstrapped the Bottled Thunder, and bet that mighty Prince against the game, and all hands said bully for the Lark. The denouement was thrilling. The Wild Cat showed four aces, and thereby "busted" the party, Madam, because four aces can't be beaten, you know. Make a note of that on the fly leaf of your Whole Duty of Man, for future reference. You will find it useful, if you ever turn Injun, for then your dusky compatriots will not think much of you if you don't gamble.

Now if you are acquainted with any romantic young ladies or gentlemen who dote on these loves of Indians, send them out here before the disease strikes in.

S. L. C.

SOME PUBLICATIONS

Two Great Scouts and Their Pawnee Battalion. By George Bird Grinnell. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1928. Pp. 299. Plates, maps. This volume is the story of two brothers—Frank J. North and Luther H. North—and their work in the West during the years 1856–1882, especially their part in the defence of the Union Pacific Railroad during the period of construction. From the standpoint of Iowa history, it is interesting to note that Frank North first enlisted as a Pawnee scout at the suggestion of General S. R. Curtis, an Iowan then in command of the Union army on the Western frontier. The volume is attractively printed and bound, and contains an index.

The Day of the Cattleman. By Ernest Staples Osgood. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press. 1929. Pp. 223. Plates, maps. This attractively printed and bound volume is a presentation of history from the economic standpoint. A list of the seven chapters will indicate the subject matter: The Cattleman's Frontier, 1845–1867; The Texas Invasion; The Indian Barrier; The Cattle Boom; Organization; The Cattleman and the Public Domain; and Disaster and Transition. There is also a bibliography and a comprehensive index. The story of the cattle industry includes the Indian problem, transportation, government, and other activities of the West. Few of the countless books on western life present such an accurate and vivid picture of life in the "cattle country".

The Supplement to the Annual Report of the American Historical Association, for 1925, contains the *Writings on American History*, 1925, compiled by Grace Gardner Griffin.

Louisiana, Land of Perpetual Romance, by Ralph A. Graves; and *Flecks of Color in New Orleans and the Fertile Fields of Louisiana*, by Edwin L. Wisherd, are two of the articles in *The National Geographic Magazine* for April.

Economic and Social Aspects of Federal Reclamation, by Dorothy Lampen, with a foreword by Dr. Elwood Mead, Commissioner of the Bureau of Reclamation, has been published as a recent number of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*.

Pierre Dubois: Modern or Medieval?, by Walther I. Brandt; *British Labor and the War-Time Coalitions*, by Carl F. Brand; and *Responsibility for the Failure of the Burgoyne Campaign*, by Jane Clark, are the three papers which appear in the April number of *The American Historical Review*. There is also a comprehensive report of the annual meeting held at Durham and Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

The fourth volume of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, which has recently appeared, contains the following biographical sketches by Iowans: Coker F. Clarkson, Chester C. Cole, and Albert B. Cummins, by Fred E. Haynes; Kate O'Flaherty Chopin, by Dorothy Anne Dondore; William Coddington, John Collins, and Samuel Cranston, by Irving B. Richman; Edwin H. Conger, by John E. Briggs; and Samuel R. Curtis, by Ruth A. Gallaher.

WESTERN AMERICANA

Earliest Settlements of the Illinois Country, by Gilbert J. Garrahan is one of the three articles published in the January issue of *The Catholic Historical Review*.

Historical Societies — Living and Dead, a paper by Worthington C. Ford, has been reprinted from the December, 1929, issue of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.

The January number of *The Northwestern Bell* contains, among other articles, *The House Vail Built in Omaha*. Theodore N. Vail lived for several years in Iowa previous to his residence in Omaha.

The April issue of *Vision* contains a number of pictures of the leaders of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and of places connected with its history.

Eleanor Little, Pioneer, by M. M. Quaife, makes up the January issue of the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet* for January. The

number for March contains *From Detroit to the Mississippi in 1820*, by the same author.

An Economic Analysis of the Constitutional Restrictions Upon Municipal Indebtedness in Illinois, a monograph by Ward L. Bishop, has been recently published, as No. 1, of Vol. XVI, of the *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*.

The February number of *Museum Echoes*, published by The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, includes a *Brief History of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society*. The number also contains a short article, *The Story of Pottery*, by Mrs. Margaret Cope.

The Wisconsin Magazine of History for March contains *Reminiscences of Milwaukee in 1835-36*, by Nelson Olin; *Captains and Cargoes of Early Upper Mississippi Steamboats*, by William J. Petersen; the concluding installment of *The Life of a Lumberman*, by John E. Nelligan; and *The Society and the State*, by Louise Phelps Kellogg.

The Early History of McKeesport, by Walter L. Riggs; *A Sketch of Pittsburgh; The Development of the Tinplate Industry*, memoirs of W. C. Cronmeyer; and *Madame Montour*, by John P. Penney, Jr., are the four articles in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for January.

The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine for January contains a number of papers and articles among which the following may be of interest to Iowa readers: *The Life of Philip De La, Mare*, by Nicholas G. Morgan; and *The Ancestry of President Brigham Young*, by Mabel Young Sandborn. Both these articles are continued in the April issue.

The January number of the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* contains the following papers and articles: *Fort Buford*, by James P. Kimball; *The Great Dakota Boom, 1879 to 1886*, by Harold E. Briggs; and *The Heath Family*, by Helen Brooks. Under *Documents* there are *Letters of James Stallcop to Catherine Varner*.

Lucius Burris Swift, by James Albert Wordburn; *Francis Vigo*, by Dorothy Riker; *John Elder: Pioneer Builder*, by Kenneth Loucks; *A Quaker Pioneer in Indiana*, by George W. Finley; *A Letter of Dr. Gamaliel Bailey to Joshua R. Giddings*; and *Letters of a Massachusetts Woman Reformer to an Indiana Radical* are the contributions in the *Indiana Magazine of History* for March.

Shane, the Western Collector, by Otto A. Rothert; Edmund L. Starling, by Mary Starling Price; and *Date of the First Settlement of Lexington, Kentucky*, by Samuel M. Wilson, are the three articles in the January issue of *The Filson Club Historical Quarterly*. This is the first number with the change in the title of the magazine, which was formerly *The History Quarterly of the Filson Club*.

"*Turkey-tail*" *Points*, by Charles E. Brown; *The Chicago-Milwaukee-Green Bay Trail*, by Louise Phelps Kellogg; *The Hopewell People*, by Warren K. Moorehead; *Cache of Indian Stone Adzes*; *Indian Overland Travelways*; *The Huff Mandan Village Site*, by Charles E. Brown; and *Petroglyphs and Pictographs* are among the series of short articles found in *The Wisconsin Archeologist* for January.

Kearny and "Kit" Carson, by Thomas Kearny; *A Group of Kearny Letters*; a continuation of *Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos*, Part I, 1536-1542, by Adolph F. Bandelier; part two of *The San Carlos Apache Police*, by John P. Clum; and *The Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the 17th Century*, by France V. Scholes, are the contributions in the *New Mexico Historical Review* for January.

The issue of *The Colorado Magazine* for March contains the following articles: *The W. M. Boggs Manuscript About Bent's Fort, Kit Carson, the Far West and Life Among the Indians*, by LeRoy R. Hafen; *The First Cattle North of the Union Pacific Railroad*, by John M. Kuykendall; *With the Indians in Colorado*, by Charles S. Stobie; and *A Raton Pass Mountain Road Toll Book*, by James F. Willard.

A reprint of *Filson's Kentucke*, together with a paged critique, a sketch of John Filson's life, and a bibliography, all by Willard

Rouse Jillson, has recently been published as No. 35 of *The Filson Club Publications*. The volume contains a large reprint of the map prepared by Filson in 1784. In this connection it is interesting to note that the first publication of the Filson Club was *John Filson, The First Historian of Kentucky*, issued in 1884, just one hundred years after the publication of the volume now reprinted.

The March number of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains the following articles: *The Authorship of Gregg's "Commerce of the Prairies,"* by John Thomas Lee; *Trade in Frontier Ohio*, by Randolph C. Downes; *The National Land System in the South: 1803-1812*, by R. S. Cotterill; a continuation of *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri*, by A. P. Nasatir; and *Social Relations and Political Control in the Old Southwest*, by Thomas Perkins Abernethy. Under *Documents* there appears *A Boy Soldier under Washington: The Memoir of Daniel Granger*, edited by M. M. Quaife.

Early Day Courts and Lawyers, by A. G. C. Bierer; *The Dragon Campaigns to The Rocky Mountains*, by Joseph B. Thoburn; *The Government of The Creek Indians*, by Ohland Morton; *Entertainments of the Spanish Explorers*, by Winifred Johnston; *Early Navigation and Commerce along the Arkansas and Red Rivers in Oklahoma*, by Muriel H. Wright; and continuations of the *Tribute to Captain D. L. Payne*, by W. H. Osburn, and *The First Two Years*, by Dan W. Peery, are the papers and articles in the March number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*.

The Missouri Historical Review for January contains the following articles and papers: *William F. Switzler*, by North Todd Gentry; *John Sappington*, by Thomas B. Hall; *California Letter of John Wilson, 1850*, by Frederic A. Culmer; *A Study of Early Days in Randolph County, 1818-1860*, by Walter H. Ryle; part two of *Ducharme's Invasion of Missouri An Incident in the Anglo-Spanish Rivalry for the Indian Trade of Upper Louisiana*, by Abraham P. Nasatir; and chapter four of *Missouri Politics During the Civil War*, by Sceva Bright Laughlin. A collection of interesting history items is included under the title, *Missouri History Not Found in Textbooks*.

The March number of *Minnesota History* contains four articles — *On the Hennepin Trail*, by Edward C. Gale; *The Progress and Prospects of Local History Work in Minnesota*, by Theodore C. Blegen; *The Problems of Historic Markers and Monuments in Minnesota*, by Willoughby M. Babcock; and *The Minnesota Historical Society in 1929*, by Solon J. Buck. There is also a report of the eighty-first annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society at St. Paul on January 13, 1930. Under *Notes and Documents* there is a discussion of certain criticisms of Rölvaag's *Giants in the Earth* under the title *The Study of Pioneer Life: Two Replies to Mr. Davis*. The second contribution under this heading is *The Nesmith Cave Hoax: A Communication*, by C. E. Van Cleve.

The spring number of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains the following papers and articles: *University of Michigan: Trend of Admission Requirements in the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts*, by Ira M. Smith; *Judge John Griffin*, by William L. Jenks; *Michigan's Contribution to Literature*, by Sister Francis Stace; *The House of Autobiography*, by Ivan Swift; *A Treasure Chest*, by Walter A. Terpenning; *Passing of The Passenger Pigeon*, by William L. Case; *Story of the State-Bird Contest*, by Edith C. Munger; *Wet or Dry?* by Elmer Houser; *A Forgotten Hero* (Stephen L. Wheatland Mosher), by Wade Millis; *How Mosby Destroyed Our Train*, by Edwin R. Havens; and *Michigan Federation of Women's Clubs: — Administration of Mrs. Lucy White Williams*, by Irma T. Jones. There is also a continuation of the *Calendar of Michigan Copyrights* and the *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Michigan Historical Commission, 1929*.

The Foreign Language Press of New Orleans, by John S. Kendall; *Louisiana Politics, 1845-1861*, by James Kimmins Greer; *The System of Redemption in the State of Louisiana*, translated by Louis Voss; and continuations of *Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana*, by Heloise H. Cruzat; and *Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana*, by Laura L. Porteous, are contributions in *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for July, 1929. There is also a tribute to Dr. Max Heller. In the issue for October, 1929 (published in January, 1930), *Louisiana Politics, 1845-1861*; the

Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana and the *Index to the Spanish Judicial Records* are continued. In addition there are *A Lawsuit in the Court of the Governor at New Orleans Involving Land in Opelousas, 1764*, translated by Laura L. Porteous; *Baton Rouge, the Historic Capital of Louisiana*, by J. St. Clair Favrot; and *West Florida — Documents Covering a Royal Land Grant on the Mississippi and Amite Rivers*. The January, 1930, number contains the following articles: *Thomas O. Moore, Governor of Louisiana 1860-1864*, by G. P. Whittington; *Financial and Economic Disturbance in New Orleans on the Eve of Secession*, by Milledge L. Bonham; *The Father of Admiral Farragut*, by Charles O. Paullin; *Manuscript of General Richard Taylor's "Destruction and Reconstruction,"* by André Lafargue; *The Souls of Old Houses*, by Helen Spann Murphy; *War Times In and Around Clinton, La.*, by Annie Sanderson Kilbourne; and continuations of *Louisiana Politics*, *Records of the Superior Council*, and *Index to Spanish Judicial Records*.

IOWANA

The first number of *The Masonic Bulletin*, published on February 1, 1930, by the Masonic lodge in Iowa City, contains *A Brief Sketch of Iowa City Lodge No. 4, A. F. & A. M.*, by George D. Koser.

A pamphlet containing the *Eulogy on the Late Charles E. Wheeler*, delivered by Robert G. Cousins on December 2, 1927, has been published by the Linn County Bar Association.

Recollections of Monona County Pioneers, by Willard Robbins, is being published in book form by the *Mapleton Press*. The history has previously appeared in the *Press* in serial form.

A List of Books and Pamphlets Written by Cedar Rapids Authors, compiled by Wilbur John Coffey, has been published in pamphlet form by the Columbia College Library of Dubuque.

The January and February issues of *The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society* contain *The History of the Practice of Homoeopathic Medicine in Iowa*, by D. S. Fairechild.

The Iowa Publisher, for March, contains biographical material on a number of Iowa newspaper men, furnished by W. G. Ray.

Among the men listed are Lafayette Young, Jr., Albert Shaw, and O. E. Hull.

How Larchwood, Iowa, Got Its Name, by M. M. Knapp, is one of the short articles in the *Rock Island Magazine* for January. The February number contains *The Robert Lucas Home at Iowa City, Iowa*, one of the series on *Famous Homes on the Rock Island Lines*, by L. O. Leonard.

The Wilson Bulletin, published by the H. W. Wilson Company, has been running a series of short biographical sketches of Iowa authors. Among them are *Susan Glaspell*, in the issue for December, 1928; *Hamlin Garland*, in the number for February, 1929; *Bess Streeter Aldrich*, April, 1929; *Floyd Dell*, June, 1929; *Charles J. Finger*, October, 1929; and *Josephine Herbst*, March, 1930.

The January number of the *Bulletin of the Grand Lodge of Iowa, A. F. & A. M.* contains an autobiography by Charles Herbert Cogswell, entitled *A Pioneer in Iowa Masonry*. There is a list of "Firsts" in Masonry in Iowa with some interesting pictures. The March issue contains a biographical sketch of *Doctor John Claypoole*, by T. W. Wellington; *A Brief History of the Grand Charity Fund*; and *The Eastern Star Home, Boone*, by J. L. Records.

The Iowa Catholic Historical Review for January contains the following papers and articles: *A Message from the President*, by Martin J. Wade; *From Early Iowa to Boston*, by M. M. Hoffmann; and *H. V. Gildea: Pioneer Church Builder*, by C. F. Griffith. Under the head of *Documents*, there is an account entitled *First Religious Ministration on the Site of the Present City of Sioux City*. This is a baptismal record kept by Father Hoecken of his work among the Sioux Indians on the Sioux River, furnished by Thomas J. McCarty. There are also biographical sketches of Archbishop James John Keane and Michael F. Healy.

In addition to the professional articles, *Midland Schools* is running a series of articles on manufacturing industries in Iowa. The one in the January issue is *The Industry of Iowa Ceramics*, by F. A. Welch, in collaboration with Paul Ernest Cox. The topic for February is *Iowa Canneries and Cereal Products*, by F. A. Welch

and Edward A. Kimball. *Cement and Gypsum Products of Iowa*, also by F. A. Welch, and *Iowa Manufacture of Farm Implements*, by F. A. Welch in collaboration with J. B. Davidson, are the installments in the March and April issues respectively.

In addition to material on nature, the *Bulletin of the Okoboji Protective Association*. No. 25, for 1929, contains some items of historical interest. Among these are: *Some Items from the Diary of S. W. Kearny*, by L. H. Pammel; *The Old Crandall House and the Crandalls*, by A. B. Funk; *Boats*, by Leslie E. Francis; and a *Chronological History of the Okoboji Protective Association*. There are also biographical sketches of Melville A. Lumbard, Mrs. Mary Belle Coleman Francis, Walter H. Scott, William M. Smith, Mrs. Lowell Morse, and William H. Woodman.

Stephen H. Taft, the founder of the town of Humboldt, Iowa, and well-known as a pioneer minister and reformer, is the subject of a volume recently published under the title, *An Empire Builder of the Middle West*. The author of the biography is Fred H. Taft. The connection of Stephen H. Taft with Iowa began in 1863, when he platted a town on the Des Moines River, which he first named Springvale, later named Humboldt. In 1872, Reverend Taft opened Humboldt College and served as president of that institution for nine years. The volume contains a fund of interesting material on the history of Humboldt and vicinity and Humboldt College. In 1897, he moved to California, where he died in 1918.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Anderson, Oscar Albin,

Who Shall Supervise College Teaching? (School and Society, November 9, 1929).

Appel, Earl T. (Joint author),

The Pre-Illinoian Pleistocene Geology of Iowa (Iowa Geological Survey, Vol. XXXIV).

Arthur, Joseph C.,

The Plant Rusts. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc. 1929.

Ashton, J. W.,

The Date of John A. Kent and John A. Cumber (Philological Quarterly, July, 1929).

Atwater, Ruth,

The Guest (poem) (Tanager, January, 1930).

Bailey, Edwin C.,

Pioneers Who Have Brought Renown to Editorial Pages of Iowa Newspapers: Ansel K. Bailey of the Decorah Republican (The Iowa Publisher, December, 1929).

Baker, Margaret,

Tomson's Hallowe'en. New York: Duffield and Company. 1929.

Bancroft, Charles,

Silver Ships (poem) (The Literary Digest, June 22, 1929).

Tadousac (poem) (The Literary Digest, October 19, 1929).

Bauer, George Neander,

Mathematics Preparatory to Statistics and Finance. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1929.

Beddie, James Stuart,

Libraries in the Twelfth Century: Their Catalogues and Contents in Haskins Anniversary Essays in Medieval History. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1929.

Beer, Thomas,

Hexensabbath (The Saturday Evening Post, September 7, 1929).

One Never Does (The Saturday Evening Post, January 11, 1930).

Life Is an Art (The Saturday Evening Post, August 10, 1929).

Sanity (The Saturday Evening Post, December 7, 1929).

Bennett, H. Arnold,

Government and Teacher Training (School and Society, October 26, 1929).

- Betts, George Herbert,
The Beliefs of 700 Ministers. New York: The Abingdon Press. 1930.
- Betts, George Herbert (Joint author),
Foreign Language Equipment of 2325 Doctors of Philosophy (Northwestern University Contributions to Education, School of Education, Series No. 2). Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Co. 1929.
- Blakeslee, George Hubbard,
Kyoto Conference of the Nations of the Pacific (Current History Magazine, January, 1930).
- Blanden, Charles Granger,
Fate (poem) (Overland Monthly, December, 1929).
Prayer (poem) (Christian Century, December 25, 1929).
- Bolton, Frederic Elmer,
Behaviorism and Education (School and Society, November 30, 1929).
- Bose, Sudhindra,
India Revisited (The Nation, June 19, 1929).
- Branch, E. Douglas,
Job With the City (poem) (The Midland, January-February, 1930).
- Briggs, John Ely,
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The cemetery at Manti, in the *Des Moines Register*, January 19, 1930.

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The shot tower at Dubuque, by Florence L. Clark, in the *Sioux City Journal*, January 20, 1930.

Sketch of the life of John Cash, last Civil War veteran of College Springs, in the *Clarinda Journal*, January 20, 1930.

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The Masonic Temple at Washington, by A. N. Alberson, in the *Washington Journal*, February 1, 1930.

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History of Tipton's colored population, by F. B. Cobb, in the *Tipton Constitution*, February 5, 1930.

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Early history of Farmington, in the *Keosauqua Republican*, February 6, 1930.

Early history of Plymouth County, in the *Merrill Record*, February 6, 1930.

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Greenberry Haggin, first settler in Hardin County, in the *Iowa Falls Citizen*, February 6, 1930.

Sketch of the life of H. T. Metcalf, of Indianola, in the *Indianola Record*, February 6, 1930.

Early days in Montrose, in the *Fort Madison Democrat*, February 7, 1930, and the *Montrose Journal*, March 6, 1930.

Sketch of the life of Winfield Scott Withrow, in the *Mount Pleasant News*, February 8, 1930, and the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, February 9, 1930.

Sketch of the life of Mark Burghardt, in the *Clinton Herald*, February 8, 1930.

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Reminiscences of J. B. Townsend, in the *Davenport Democrat*, February 9, 1930.

Reminiscences of Montrose, by Mrs. Halsey Buck in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, February 9, 1930.

M. D. Peebler of Livermore was born at Fort Madison, February 9, 1838, in the *Fairfield Ledger*, February 10, 1930, and the *Fort Dodge Messenger*, February 12, 1930.

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Sketch of the life of Mrs. Mary Jane Smith, pioneer of southwestern Iowa, in the *Glenwood Opinion-Tribune*, February 10, 1930.

Sketch of the life of George Bushnell, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, February 11, 1930.

The Robert Lucas home at Iowa City, in the *Chariton Herald*, February 12, 1930, and the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, February 19, 1930.

The Historical and Literary Club of West Union is oldest men's club in Iowa, in the *West Union Argo-Gazette*, February 12, 1930, and the *Carroll Herald*, February 15, 1930.

Iowans who were formerly slaves, by Beth Watters, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, February 12, 1930, and the *Davenport Democrat*, February 28, 1930.

Early newspaper experiences, by Frank Kelly, in the *Hawarden Independent*, February 13, 1930.

Sketch of the life of Lafe Young, Jr., in the *Avoca Journal*, February 13, 1930, the *Valley Junction Booster*, February 13, 1930, and the *Des Moines Register*, February 16, 1930.

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Memories of Algona, by Grant Hawkins, in the *Algona Advance*, February 13, 1930.

History of Indian tribes in Iowa, by Minnie Fowler, in the *Rock Rapids Review*, February 13, 1930.

Story of Dr. C. Longshore, pioneer physician of Sheldon, in the *Hartley Sentinel*, February 13, 1930.

Historical data on Grant Methodist Episcopal Church, in the *Cumberland Enterprise*, February 13, 1930; the *Red Oak Express*, March 13, 14, 18, 1930, and the *Villisca Review*, March 21, 28, 1930.

Early days in Story County, in the *Maxwell Tribune*, February 13, 1930.

Calhoun County newspapers, in the *Manson Journal*, February 13, 1930.

Diary of Morris McHenry in 1856, in the *Manilla Times*, February 13, 1930.

The Lutheran Church of Soldier Valley, in the *Soldier Sentinel*, February 13, 27, 1930.

The story of Erik Kjyten, by P. G. Tjernagel, in the *Story City Herald*, February 13, 1930.

Beginnings of towns in Hardin County, in the *Eldora Herald*, February 13, 1930, and the *Grundy Center Register*, February 20, 1930.

Reminiscences of Madison County, by Mrs. Nannie Dunlap, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, February 13, 1930.

Sketch of the life of C. C. Cronbaugh in the *Marengo Pioneer-Republican*, February 13, 1930.

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Sketch of the life of Michael A. B. W. Seydel, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, February 15, 1930, and the *Iowa City Daily Iowan*, March 2, 1930.

Legend of Black Hawk's treasure hidden near New Albin, in the *Dubuque Herald*, February 16, 1930.

Sketch of the life of W. S. Freeman, in the *Le Mars Sentinel*, February 18, 1930.

Early history of Clayton County, in the *Guttenberg Press*, February 20, 1930.

How the town of Rolfe was named, in the *Rolfe Arrow*, February 20, 27, 1930.

The Roosevelt "Knickerbocker Flour Mills", in the *Ackley Journal*, February 20, 1930, and the *Grundy Center Register*, February 27, 1930.

Story of Osmund Weltha, by P. G. Tjernagel, in the *Story City Herald*, February 20, 1930.

Black Hawk's visit to Burlington in 1840, in the *Wapello Republican*, February 20, 1930.

Making fireplaces in early days, by George Lamond, in the *Montezuma Republican*, February 20, 1930.

Pioneer experiences of Jacob Cagley in Bremer County, in the *Bremer County Independent*, February 20, 1930.

The Ladies Union Mite Society at Lamoni, in the *Lamoni Chronicle*, February 20, 1930.

Sketch of the life of Dan McKay, in the *Wapello Republican*, February 20, 1930.

When Council Bluffs was lighted by oil lamps, by Andrew McMillen, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, February 22, 1930.

Sketch of the life of Dan Winget, in the *Clinton Herald*, February 22, 1930.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. O. P. Shiras, in the *Dubuque Herald*, February 23, 1930.

Address of Governor Stone on July 12, 1865, in the *Davenport Democrat*, February 23, 1930.

Mrs. R. M. Webster chose site for Shenandoah, in the *Shenandoah Sentinel*, February 24, 1930.

Sketch of the life of I. M. Treynor, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, February 25, 1930.

Sketch of the life of W. B. Stilson, in the *Mason City Gazette*, February 25, 1930.

Early finances of the State University, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, February 25, 1930.

B. K. Kokne is Emmet County's oldest settler, by Frank Benesh, in the *Estherville Enterprise*, February 26, 1930.

Apple raising in the Northwest, by C. N. Barnard, in the *Waukon Democrat*, February 26, 1930.

Sketch of the life of J. A. Henderson, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, February 27, 1930, the *Carroll Herald*, February 28, 1930, and the *Jefferson Bee*, March 5, 1930.

Freem Cowan tells of trips to the mill, written by F. E. Foster, in the *Iowa Falls Citizen*, February 27, 1930.

History of the Methodists in Hardin County, by John Boylan, in the *Eldora Ledger*, February 27, 1930.

Early days in Pella, in the *Knoxville Express*, February 27, 1930.

Early history of Selma and Iowaville, in the *Keosauqua Republican*, February 27, 1930.

Sketch of the life of S. H. Sperry, in the *Riverside Leader*, February 27, 1930.

Frontier days near Spirit Lake, by Geo. Doughty, in the *Spirit Lake Beacon*, February 27, March 13, 20, 27, 1930.

Gathering news for *Davenport Times* fifty years ago, in the *Davenport Times*, February 28, 1930.

Letters of J. H. Leavitt tell of Iowa in the fifties, in the *Waterloo Courier*, February 28, March 14, 21, 28, 24, 1930.

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Iowa firemen of 1897, in the *Waterloo Courier*, February 28, 1930.

Sketch of the life of M. H. Luick, early settler in Wright County, in the *Mason City Gazette*, February 28, 1930.

Sketch of the life of Henry G. Porter, former stagecoach driver, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, March 1, 1930, and the *Manchester Press*, March 1, 1930.

Sixtieth anniversary of the Clarence Methodist Church, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, March 3, 1930, and the *Clarence Sun*, March 6, 15, 1930.

Iowa's first school teacher, in the *Clarinda Journal*, March 3, 1930.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. John Braam, first child born in Pella, in the *Pella Chronicle*, March 6, 1930.

Story of the three DeAutremonts, in the *Williamsburg Journal*, March 6, 13, 1930.

History of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Eldora, in the *Eldora Herald*, March 6, 1930.

First election in Hardin County, in the *Iowa Falls Citizen*, March 6, 1930.

Early settlements in northwest Iowa, by Mrs. C. L. Nicol, in the *Spirit Lake Beacon*, March 6, 27, 1930.

Reminiscences of early days in Hamilton County, by Mrs. Sarah Brewer-Bonebright, in the *Webster City Journal*, March 6, 1930.

The town of Shakerag, in the *West Liberty Index*, March 6, 13, 1930.

Memoirs of Abraham Jacobson, in the *Decorah Public Opinion*, March 6, 1930.

West Bend from 1875 to 1885, by B. F. McFarland, in the *West Bend Journal*, March 6, 1930.

Sketch of the life of John Eden, in the *Dewitt Observer*, March 6, 1930.

- Early history of the *Grinnell Herald*, by Wm. H. Day, in the *Grinnell Herald*, March 7, 1930.
- Story of Dr. Romeo W. Anderson and the legend of buried treasure at Tipton, in the *Clinton Herald*, March 8, 1930.
- Early life of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, in the *Des Moines Register*, March 9, 1930.
- An Indian Monitor pipe in Allamakee County, in the *Dubuque Herald*, March 9, 1930.
- History of Fairfield Methodism, by T. B. Short, in the *Fairfield Ledger*, March 12, 1930.
- Sketch of the life of A. C. Wells, in the *Jefferson Bee*, March 12, 1930.
- Early settlers in Dickinson County, by Mrs. C. L. Nicol, in the *Spirit Lake Beacon*, March 13, 20, 1930.
- Murder trial in Fremont County, in the *Sidney Argus*, March 13, 1930.
- Early history of Decatur County, by Mrs. A. N. Kellogg, in the *Leon Journal-Reporter*, March 13, 27, 1930.
- Early days in Pittsburg and Mt. Zion, in the *Keosauqua Republican*, March 13, 1930.
- First events in Clayton County, in the *Guttenberg Press*, March 13, 1930.
- Joseph Garrett, miller of Earlville, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, March 13, 1930.
- First prison at Anamosa, in the *Anamosa Journal*, March 13, 1930.
- Early Page County history, by E. R. Harlan, in the *Clarinda Journal*, March 13, 1930.
- Sketch of the life of E. C. Stevenson, Sr., in the *Rockwell City Advocate*, March 13, 1930.
- Reminiscences of Mrs. Dunlap, by Mr. and Mrs. Cal Ogburn, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, March 13, 1930.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The forty-fourth annual meeting of The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society was held at Columbus on March 27, 1930.

The Indiana Historical Society, which was organized on December 11, 1830, will celebrate its centennial by a meeting at Indianapolis on December 11, 1930.

A commission to take charge of the location and construction of the newly authorized State Library and Historical Building for Indiana has been recently appointed by Governor Harry G. Leslie.

The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society is offering a prize of one hundred dollars for the best article on Michigan history. All articles must be submitted to George N. Fuller, Secretary of the Michigan Historical Commission, not later than September 1, 1930.

Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, Superintendent of The State Historical Society of Iowa, delivered two addresses at the Ohio History Conference at Columbus on February 7, 1930. In the afternoon Dr. Shambaugh's subject was "The Problems of a State Historical Society". The subject of the evening address was "The Statesman of Democracy".

The twenty-third annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association will be held at Chattanooga, Tennessee, on April 24-26, 1930. Headquarters for the meeting will be at Hotel Patten and Dr. Frank W. Prescott of the University of Chattanooga is chairman of the local committee on entertainment. Dr. James L. Sellers of the University of Wisconsin is chairman of the program committee. A discussion section, led by Professor A. C. Cole and Professor J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, will take up the question "Was there a reasonable probability that the election of Lincoln meant an attack on the institution of slavery in the states?" A tour of the battlefields at Missionary Ridge, Lookout

Mountain, and Chickamauga will be a feature of the entertainment program. The East Tennessee and the Tennessee historical societies will join in the meeting.

On December 28, 1929, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which met at Des Moines, held two sessions relating to history. Professor Charles E. Payne of Grinnell College presided over the forenoon meeting, at which Professor L. B. Schmidt of the Iowa State College read a paper on "The Agricultural Revolution in the United States, 1860-1930"; Professor Rodney H. True of the University of Pennsylvania, on "Some Pre-Revolutionary Correspondence on Agriculture"; and Professor George W. Hendry of the University of California on "Adobe Brick as a Source of Agricultural History". In the afternoon Professor W. T. Root of the University of Iowa presided. Irving B. Richman spoke on "Science and the New History" and Edgar R. Harlan, Curator of the Historical Department of Iowa, discussed "Some Means of Collecting Indian Lore".

IOWA

The Marshall County Historical Society is holding monthly meetings with good attendance. Mr. Frank G. Pierce is the president of the society.

Events in the early history of Menville made up the program of the Menville Woman's Club at a meeting on February 20, 1930. In addition to the program, a collection of relics furnished interesting entertainment.

The tenth annual history conference was held at Iowa City on February 7 and 8, 1930. The program included an address by Professor A. M. Schlesinger of Harvard University on "The City in American History".

The Historical Society of Howard County held its annual meeting at Cresco on March 10, 1930. J. F. Murtha gave a talk on rural schools of the past and present. The officers elected were as follows: president, Mrs. Alma Glass; vice president, J. H. Howe; secretary, C. J. Harlan; and treasurer William Killow.

A marble tablet commemorating the men who enlisted in the Civil War from Central College at Pella was presented to the College on March 26, 1930. George H. Jewett, the oldest living alumnus of Central College presented the tablet which was accepted for the College by President John Wesselink.

The members of the Appanoose County Historical Society held a meeting at Centerville on January 21, 1930, with Mrs. C. S. Hickman, the president, presiding. Mrs. E. J. Riepe told of the organization of the society two years ago and there was discussion of possible activities and financial problems. A month later, February 21st, the society sponsored a colonial ball, to provide funds for the work of the organization.

The annual meeting of the Madison County Historical Society was held at Winterset on March 4, 1930. Mrs. Agnes McNamara read a paper on the "History of Madison County", Mr. E. R. Zeller gave an account of the work of Charles McMillan, a charter members of the organization, and C. A. Robbins discussed plans for the dedication of the Devils' Backbone State Park in connection with the old settlers' picnic. A letter from John C. Parish recalling some of the history of the society was read by H. A. Mueller. The officers were re-elected as follows: H. A. Mueller, president; W. S. Cooper, vice president; E. R. Zeller, secretary; and Mrs. Agnes McNamara, treasurer.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, superintendent of the State Historical Society, has been selected by Governor John Hammill to represent Iowa at the thirty-fourth annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science to be held at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on May 2 and 3, 1930.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mr. M. L. Hutton, Ames, Iowa; Mr. Percy A. Lainson, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mr. O. C. Sutherland, Bellevue, Iowa; Mrs. Burt J. Thompson, Forest City, Iowa; Mr. E. C. Weber, Fort Madison, Iowa; Mrs. F. B. Myatt, Maquoketa, Iowa; Mr. Marion M. Roberts, Grant, Iowa; Mr. A. G. Sampson, Davenport,

Iowa; Mr. David W. Stewart, Sioux City, Iowa; Mr. Ethan P. Allen, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. William R. Felton, Sioux City, Iowa; Rev. J. J. Horsfield, McGregor, Iowa; Mr. Wm. O. Ransom, Burlington, Iowa; and Mr. Geod. S. Steinberg, Council Bluffs, Iowa. Mr. C. W. Pitts of Alton, Iowa, has been enrolled as a life member.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has recently published and will soon distribute two volumes on *Municipal Government and Administration in Iowa*. The first volume contains the following monographs: *The Creation and Dissolution of Municipal Corporations*, by Jacob A. Swisher; *Legal Status of Municipalities*, by Jacob A. Swisher; *The Municipal Electorate*, by Roy V. Sherman; *The City Council*, by Herman H. Trachsel; *The Mayor*, by John M. Pfiffner; *The City Manager*, by John M. Pfiffner; *The City Clerk*, by Jacob A. Swisher; *The Municipal Assessor*, by David W. Knepfer; *The Municipal Treasurer*, by Jacob A. Swisher; *The City Solicitor*, by Ruth A. Gallaher; *The City Engineer*, by Ruth A. Gallaher; *Other City Officials*, by Jacob A. Swisher; and *Municipal Boards and Commissions*, by Bertram W. Maxwell. Volume two contains nine monographs — *The Administration of Municipal Finance*, by Ruth A. Gallaher; *Municipal Administration of Justice*, by Francis R. Aumann; *Municipal Administration of Public Safety*, by Roy E. Brown; *Municipal Administration of Public Works*, by Jacob A. Swisher; *Municipal Administration of Public Utilities*, by Herman H. Trachsel; *Municipal Planning and Zoning*, by John W. Manning; *Municipal Administration of Public Health*, by William M. Hargrave; *Municipalities and Associated Activities*, by Ruth A. Gallaher; and *The League of Iowa Municipalities*, by Jacob A. Swisher.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The oldest residence in Mapleton and vicinity, built by William L. Ring in 1856, has recently been remodelled as a club house by the Woman's Civic Improvement Club of Mapleton.

The State University of Iowa held its eighty-third anniversary service on the evening of March 10, 1930. Dr. Raymond M. Hughes, president of Iowa State College, gave the main address of the evening.

Persons who have been settlers of Boone County for fifty years or more held a reunion at Boone on February 20, 1930. In addition to music, the program included an address by John Hull and informal talks by a number of the old settlers.

A painting of Davenport made in 1844 by J. C. Wild was recently presented to the Davenport Public Museum by Egbert B. Sanders. The picture presents the scene of Davenport and Rock Island from a point on the bluffs west of the city.

The Seventh Commonwealth Conference will be held in the Old Capitol Building at Iowa City on June 30, July 1, 2, 1930. The theme of this conference will be the "Political Issues of 1930". Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh is the chairman of the Commonwealth Conference and Dr. Kirk H. Porter is chairman of the committee on the program.

The thirty-sixth annual meeting of the Des Moines Pioneer Club was held at Hotel Fort Des Moines on January 25, 1930. A list of the first things in the city of Des Moines was compiled. The officers elected were Max Shloss, president; Theodore F. Grefe, vice president; and Guy M. Brandt, secretary.

In the contest recently held by *The Chicago Tribune* for the best history of the United States written in five hundred words, W. W. Sweet of the University of Chicago won first prize, Wm. H. Norton of Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa, received second place, and Louis Pelzer of the State University of Iowa, third.

The Commandery of The State of Iowa, Society of American Wars, was chartered on February 8, 1930, and the society was organized on February 26th. The officers elected were: commander, Harold King Bowen, Fort Dodge; senior vice commander, John Sydney Cutter, Shenandoah; junior vice commander, John M. Garrett, Fort Dodge; and recorder, Clarence Eral Nickle, Algona.

Professor L. B. Schmidt, head of the Department of History and Government at Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, will return to the University of Alabama for the second session of the 1930 summer school. He will give courses in Economic Foreign Policies of the United States, the United States and Latin America, and the Civil War and Reconstruction.

Six mural paintings depicting scenes from the history of Iowa will decorate the new Hotel Kirkwood at Des Moines. The artist is Henry Bernard. The subjects selected are Father Marquette, Governor and Mrs. Samuel J. Kirkwood, the first covered wagon to cross Iowa, the opening of the first railroad, the old capitol building at Burlington, and the old capitol building at Iowa City.

The Iowa League of Women Voters held its annual meeting at Cedar Rapids on March 25, 27, 1930. Mrs. Frank A. Stromsten was elected president for the ensuing year, Mrs. G. W. Martin, first vice president; Mrs. Max Mayer, second vice president; Mrs. Clarence Knutson, third vice president; Mrs. Dorrance White, secretary; and Mrs. Philip C. Jeans, treasurer.

CONTRIBUTORS

ETHAN P. ALLEN. Born at Chehalis, Washington, May 17, 1907. Grammar school education secured in the public schools of Aurora, Illinois. Moved to Boulder, Colorado, in June, 1920, where he graduated from the State Preparatory School in 1925. Received the B. A. degree from the University of Colorado in 1929. Scholar in Political Science at the State University of Iowa, 1929-1930.

FRED W. LORCH, Assistant Professor of English at Iowa State College, Ames. (See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, July, 1929, p. 504, October, 1929, p. 626.)

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ANGLO-SPANISH RIVALRY IN THE IOWA COUNTRY 1797-1798

Spain and England became neighbors in the Mississippi Valley in 1763 by virtue of the Treaty of Paris. Later the United States officially supplanted the English on the eastern bank of the Mississippi — although the British continued trading in this territory until the close of the eighteenth century, if not indeed until 1815.

Both Spain and England were interested in buying peltries and in the extremely valuable and lucrative trade with the Indians. From Michilimackinac, agents of the merchants of Montreal and other trading centers dispatched traders via the Fox-Wisconsin route to Prairie du Chien. From here they spread in all directions. Some operated in the Iowa country, ascending the Iowa, Skunk, and Des Moines rivers, even penetrating as far as the Omaha, Oto, and Pawnee Indian habitats along or near the Missouri in the vicinity of the mouth of the Platte River. Some descended the Mississippi River to the Illinois country where they also traded with the Spanish merchants at St. Louis. Still others ascended the Mississippi, entered the valley of the St. Peter's [Minnesota] River, and extended their operations to the Red and Missouri rivers. From Prairie du Chien they penetrated the lake country in the present State of Minnesota. Trading posts were set up, at least for temporary occupation.

From Assiniboine, Saskatchewan, La Souris [Mouse River] and other posts of the Northwest and Hudson Bay companies west of Lake Superior the intrepid traders, employees of the Montreal Scotchmen, made their way to the Missouri River region where they traded with the Mandan,

Gros Ventres, or other Indian tribes residing thereabouts. They erected at least one fort among the Mandans.

Such activities were in violation both of international law and the agreements entered into between the sovereigns of Spain and Great Britain, but protests were of no avail, as the Spanish officials of Illinois and Louisiana and the British officials of Canada soon found out. English traders, who had the advantage of better and more plentiful supplies, and possibly less strict laws under which their conduct was to be guided, were tacitly allowed by their own government to continue their money-making endeavors and the work of extending British influence and prestige among the natives resident beyond the Mississippi, in territory which technically belonged to Spain.

The Spaniards did not remain idle. Seeing that protests and agreements were more or less unavailing and desiring to extend their influence not only throughout their own territory, but also to the east of the Mississippi, the officials of Spanish Louisiana pleaded with their superior officers to give them money and men with which to protect the northeastern frontier of the provinces of Spain in America. To keep the British out of their territory the Spaniards desired to erect forts at the mouths of the St. Peter's and Des Moines rivers. Jacques Clamorgan, in the name of the Missouri Company, drew up a contract whereby he was to construct forts at the mouths of the Skunk, Iowa, Des Moines, and other rivers in return for the exclusive trade of the Upper Mississippi country. In addition to forts, it was necessary to patrol the Mississippi River for at least three to six months each year in order to keep the English traders from entering Spanish territory. It was likewise necessary to establish forts on the Missouri River for the purpose of overawing the Indians already indoctrinated by the British, to destroy the English fort among the Man-

dans, to erect Spanish forts up and down the Missouri River, and to patrol the river itself.¹

Baron de Carondelet, the Governor General, who supported these ideas and who had faith in the ability of the Missouri Company and the success of its activities, urgently advocated these proposals before the Spanish Court. But Spain had a war on its hands in Europe. Money was scarce and money was indispensable to the carrying out of these projects. At last, fearing attacks by the English and worried by Americans and Indians in Lower Louisiana, Carondelet adopted the rather old policy of Spain — fighting the British with their own fire.

Carondelet realized that Upper Louisiana was in need of settlers. Its possibilities as an agricultural region had not been developed and it offered a valuable trade in furs and Indian goods which would not only take away from Canada profits, commerce, etc., but would divert the traffic down the Mississippi River to New Orleans, thus enhancing the profits of the Spaniards and increasing the revenue and commerce of Spanish Louisiana. He therefore decided to make Louisiana a better, stronger, and more valuable province of Spain.

Opportunity presented itself to the Governor General when Andrew Todd, who had most likely been associated with Clamorgan and the Missouri Company for some time, applied to Carondelet for the exclusive trade with the Indians residing north of the Missouri and the Ohio rivers. He asked that he be permitted to obtain his supplies and men from Canada, and that the import and export duties at New Orleans upon goods necessary for carrying on that trade be reduced from fifteen per cent to six per cent. These requests were granted, and success was beginning to

¹ A full account of the activities on the Upper Missouri may be found in Nasatir's *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri* in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVI.

be realized when two things occurred: Todd, while in New Orleans on business, was attacked with yellow fever and died; and war broke out between England and Spain in 1796.

Carondelet was in a difficult position. Money was scarce, for Louisiana was not a profitable colony of Spain and was relatively unimportant. The lack of supplies forced the St. Louis merchants and traders to supply themselves from Canada and Illinois, in violation of Spanish law. Moreover they were competing with traders from Canada who had an abundance of supplies, and liberal laws, and were, by their very nature, aggressive. Spain was fighting a losing battle in the Upper Mississippi Valley against the British. Step by step the British traders moved westward and took away from the subjects of His Catholic Majesty the trade which they had previously held.

It is true that Spain made some positive endeavors to stop these activities. There were the activities of the Missouri Company, particularly in the persons of James Mackay and John Evans;² the captures made by Spain of British traders on the Mississippi; the expeditions sent up the Mississippi to Prairie du Chien; and the spies and agents sent into the Illinois country. Mention has already been made of the agreement authorizing Andrew Todd to engage in trade not only on the western shore of the Mississippi in the region of Iowa, but also among the Sac and Fox Indians who resided on the eastern shore in what is now the State of Illinois. British officials, especially at Michilimackinac and Detroit, protested against some of the Spanish activities, while Louis Grignon³ insisted that the

² For a more complete account of the activities of the Missouri Company, Mackay, and Evans, see Nasatir's *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri* in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVI.

³ Grignon was a resident of Prairie du Chien. He was working for the British interests.

British at Prairie du Chien feared not the Americans but the Spaniards, who would occasionally dispatch a gunboat to seize goods and furs which they maintained had been gathered on Spanish territory without Spanish license.

The fear of the Spaniards of an attack upon the Illinois by the British from above is illustrated by some documents from the Louisiana Collection in the Bancroft Library of the University of California, translated by the writer. Documents from this collection, supplemented by a vast amount of material drawn from the Archivo General de Indias, located at Seville, enable one to rewrite the history of the activities of the Spaniards in the Upper Mississippi Valley.

In October, 1796, England and Spain found themselves once again at war. Fearing an attack upon the Spanish Illinois from Canada,⁴ Carondelet, the Governor General of Louisiana, wrote to Lieutenant Governor Trudeau of the Spanish Illinois country on November 22, 1796, that he was certain that war had been declared between Spain and England and warned him to be on the look-out for a suspected surprise attack by the English. He also informed Trudeau that he would be reinforced by forty men from Ecores-á-Margot and by artillery sufficient to put St. Louis in a state of defence. He told Trudeau to follow the plan which Collot had given him for forming, in case of necessity, "*una inundacion que defienda la maior parte de su*

⁴ In 1797, the Spanish ambassador to the United States, Carlos Martinez de Iruyo, after a careful inquiry, warned Carondelet of a projected attack upon the Spanish Illinois by the English from Canada. — See documents printed below, and letter from Carondelet to Morales, No. 10, *reservado*, New Orleans April 21, 1797, in the Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 87-1-24, transcript in the Bancroft Library; proclamation of Carondelet, New Orleans, May 31, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library; and letter from Liston to Grenville, No. 36, Philadelphia, August 30, 1797, Public Record Office (London), Foreign Office Papers, 5/18, and translation of Carondelet's letter enclosed therein. See also the correspondence concerning this matter in *American State Papers, Foreign Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 66-103, *passim*.

recinto".⁵ Finally, Carondelet told the Lieutenant Governor that he could act in a hostile manner (*obrar hostilmente*) against all British subjects who might be upon the Missouri and Upper Mississippi rivers without a declaration of war and the same rule could apply to the Missouri Company in the extension of its privilege.⁶

On the twenty-sixth of November, Carondelet issued a rather lengthy set of instructions to Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Howard who was dispatched to St. Louis to act as military commander of the Spanish Illinois, Trudeau remaining as civil lieutenant governor. With several galleys, galliots, and a few men, Howard was to proceed to St. Louis and there he was ordered to protect St. Louis and destroy the English trade on the Upper Mississippi as well as on the Missouri. He was instructed to dispatch an expedition to explore the shores of the Mississippi from St. Louis to the mouth of the St. Peter's River and to destroy any canoes they might find. All property and goods seized were to be equally divided among the members of the crew on the one hand, and the King on the other. Howard was also ordered to attempt an expedition against a British post, similar to the one which in 1781 resulted in the capture of St. Joseph.⁷ He was instructed to destroy the English post rumored to have been located among the Mandans and to secure information concerning the strength and location of the English posts and the disposition of

⁵ Literally, a flood which should surround the greater part of his territory — apparently referring to some dike or moat to be constructed around St. Louis.

⁶ Letter from Carondelet to Trudeau, New Orleans, November 22, 1796, in *Papeles de Cuba*, legajo 23. The declaration of war against Great Britain was published in New Orleans by Carondelet on December 16, 1796. — Letter from Carondelet to Martin Duralde, New Orleans, December 16, 1796, in *Papeles de Cuba*, legajo 23.

⁷ Regarding the capture of St. Joseph in 1781, see Nasatir's *Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country during the American Revolution 1779-1783* in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXI, October, 1928.

their inhabitants, chiefly of Michilimackinac. He was also to stir up a revolution in Canada in favor of France. Such a revolution would protect Upper Louisiana from the British during the war then going on.⁸

Fulfilling his instructions, Carlos Howard, on the second of May, 1797, ordered Trudeau to secure information concerning the English posts situated nearest to the Spanish settlement and to inquire concerning the attitude of the inhabitants in those posts. Trudeau reported that, according to information received, the English had given up the post of Michilimackinac to the Americans, in accordance with the provisions of Jay's Treaty, and part of the English garrison formerly stationed there had moved to a point on Lake Huron about fifteen leagues from the island of Michilimackinac. The new point was only scantily guarded by about sixty men and no settlers. Detroit had been delivered up to the Americans, but the English had moved to the opposite shore where they established a post which was heavily garrisoned. According to Trudeau's information, Detroit was about three hundred leagues distant from Illinois by land and four hundred via the rivers and lakes. The best practical method of weakening the English settlements in Canada would be through the services of Don Gabriel Cerré, Don Auguste Chouteau, and Don Antonio Reilhe. The first named, a Canadian, who rarely missed a year in which he did not journey to Montreal, had just made a visit on the seventh of the preceding September. Reilhe had also been for a long time in Canada, and Chouteau was a man who had always managed to inform himself about Canada, its trade, and the customs of its citizens.

Turdeau said that they could carry on trade from Canada to the Mississippi but for the fear of the Indians who were

⁸ Instructions printed in the *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. III, pp. 71-91.

accustomed to trade with the English and would protect the English, who were operating in many cases under American passports.

Trudeau dispatched Tesson Honoré (or Louis Honoré Tesson) with a group of five men to Prairie du Chien, there to gain what information they could. These men were sent to Prairie du Chien because that frontier post was the rendezvous of the traders and at this center they could procure information concerning the "enemies" of Spain and the Indians. The Lieutenant Governor commissioned Honoré to attempt to win the Indians over to the Spanish side and allegiance, and to secure information. He was charged to return as soon as he should learn definitely concerning the hostile movements of the English and Indians against the Spanish Illinois.

At the same time Trudeau dispatched Prevost to Chicago. Prevost was charged to examine the route to Lake Michigan via the Illinois River. In an endeavor to secure information concerning the land route to Detroit, Trudeau was forced to send a half-breed from the Miami nation, called "Blue Eyes", who had property under the protection of the Spanish government, for no white man was available with the qualifications necessary for such an undertaking.⁹

⁹ Letter from Trudeau to Howard, St. Louis, May 10, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Document II below. It appears that the lieutenant colonel proposed that Spaniards be sent to Fort Pitt and Michilimackinac under the pretext of business, in order to secure information.

"Dicho Teniente Coronel se proponia enviar sugetos hasta Fuerte Pitt y Michilimakinak que á la sombra de una expedicion mercantil indagasen con aparente indiferencia quanto pudieran debiendo regresar desde qualquier parage en el momento que supiesen ó reconociesen indicios ciertos y probables de hacerse preparativos hostiles contra esta Provincia." — Letter from Morales to Varela y Ulloa, New Orleans, June 30, 1797, in Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 87-1-24, transcript in the Bancroft Library.

"Tengo recibidos los pliegos que me anuncia Vm. haver recibido del Puesto de San Fernando de las Barancas, y la copia de la carta de 14 de Noviembre ultimo pasado escrita en Pitburg por Dn Pedro Menard en qe avisa las inten-

Three days later Howard reported to Carondelet that he was fulfilling his instructions. He stated that he had arranged for an expedition to ascend the Mississippi to the St. Peter's River; he had dispatched one to capture St. Joseph; and he was securing information concerning the Mandan post. From Chouteau, with whom Mr. Morrison of Kaskaskia communicated, Howard was informed that the English were assembling the Indians from the environs of Detroit. From now on, declared Howard, Trudeau would inform the Governor General concerning the affairs in the Illinois country.¹⁰

On April 23, 1797, Prevost arrived at Chicago. There he met a man named Ange, who informed him that he had learned from Major Hamtranck, the commander of the post of Detroit, that the Americans had joined with the English to declare war on the French, an opinion held by the Americans in general at that time. Prevost was merely reporting the news as he heard it, but he told the Lieutenant Governor that Ange was going to St. Louis where he could question him. Prevost concluded his letter with these words: "The English bid the savages always hold their hand. It is not difficult to understand what they mean."¹¹

A confidential agent was also sent by Trudeau to the Illinois River to investigate concerning the projected descent of the English via the Illinois River but nothing was discovered.

On March fifteenth, an inhabitant of San Fernando was

ciones ostiles de nros enemigos contra essa Partida de Ylinois, lo parece apresurado quando se save qe la guerra se a declarado en el Canada solo en 29 de Noviembre en qe escribe dho Menard sin embargo es bueno su aviso." — Letter from Trudeau to Carlos de Hault de Lassus, No. 5, St. Louis, March 19, 1797, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 131.

¹⁰ Letter from Howard to Carondelet, St. Louis, May 13, 1797; two letters, manuscripts in the Bancroft Library, Documents III and IV below.

¹¹ Letter from Prevost to Trudeau, La Gibaudière, April 26, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Document I below.

dispatched to Detroit. At Vincennes he was arrested, owing to a false rumor of a breach between Spain and the United States, but was later released and continued to Detroit. Cerré, Jr., was sent up the Ohio, while his father was sent to Michilimackinac, and directed to travel on to Montreal, if possible. He was expected to arrive at the former place sometime during the month of June, just about the time the traders assembled there to start upon their trading ventures among the Indians in the Upper Mississippi Valley.

A careful inquiry was instituted concerning the circulation of some "collars" among the Indians of the Missouri and Lieutenant Pedro Montardy, who returned to St. Louis, but one day before, after a two years residence among the Osages, reported that no British interference had been evident among those Indians.¹²

Meanwhile Louis Tesson Honoré, Jr., had been sent to Prairie du Chien. He probably left St. Louis about the end of March or the beginning of April and arrived at his destination late in April or early in May. When he arrived at Prairie du Chien he was arrested and imprisoned for three days by two Englishmen, who desired that Honoré dispatch some one to the Sac and Fox Indians and force them to release their canoe which had been confiscated. These Englishmen — Gillespie and Crawford — had caused trouble, it seems, in the Iowa country on the Des Moines River where they had been trading. While in that vicinity they had pulled down a Spanish flag.

Hearing of Honoré's imprisonment, the Sac and Fox Indians went to his aid at Prairie du Chien and effected his release. On account of the "flag" episode, Honoré sent a curt dispatch to the government of Michilimackinac in

¹² Letter from Howard to Carondelet, June 7, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Document VII below.

which he stated that the flag was a genuine Spanish flag and demanded that it be treated with respect. He informed the Governor of Michilimackinac that Gillespie and Crawford had wintered and traded on the Des Moines River contrary to the treaty and called upon the Governor to pay attention to the treaty.¹³

Honoré left Prairie du Chien on May 23rd, in company with a deputation of chiefs of the Sac, Fox, and Puant tribes, to return to St. Louis where he arrived on June 11th, and immediately reported to Howard. He told the lieutenant colonel that when he left Prairie du Chien he left Julien Mombuc [Dubuque?], to whom a section of land had but recently been granted and who lived opposite Prairie du Chien, charged with the mission of being on the lookout and sending information immediately to St. Louis of the slightest move or movement made on the part of the English or Indians.

Honoré also told the Spanish official that Gillespie and Crawford, English traders who pretended to be Americans,¹⁴ intended to return to the Des Moines River to trade — either at the end of June or the beginning of July of that year. To capture them Howard dispatched Metzenger to the Iowa region in a swift galliot rather heavily armed. Bernardo Molina had already been ordered to patrol the region in a galliot. To facilitate their work and to get the Sac and Fox Indians to attack by land while the gun-boat attacked by water, Honoré was sent with the expedition.

¹³ Letter from Honoré [Louis Honoré Tesson] to the Governor of Michilimackinac, May 18, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Document V below.

¹⁴ Evidently Gillespie did have an American passport for General Wilkinson gave a speech to him and asked that he deliver the "parole" to the Sac and Fox Indians residing near Prairie du Chien. Indeed Gillespie substituted for the American commander. — Speech of Wilkinson to the Indians, August 18, 1797, enclosed in a letter from Trudeau to Gayoso de Lemos, St. Louis, December 1, 1797. A copy is in the Bancroft Library.

Howard prepared for opposition, for he had been informed that Gillespie and Crawford had twenty men to aid and protect them while they carried on trade in the Des Moines River region. Howard further stated that the Spanish confidential agent on the Illinois River reported that no trouble was imminent in that region.¹⁵

On the twenty-sixth of June, Howard received a letter which Gabriel Cerré, on his way to Michilimackinac, had written to Trudeau. By this means the lieutenant colonel was able again to assure the Governor General that all was quiet in the Illinois River region so far as projected attacks by the English against Spanish Upper Louisiana were concerned. It appears that Howard was beginning to fear the Americans¹⁶ rather than the British, but Carondelet's fear of a British attack from Canada caused Spain to refrain from carrying out the provisions of the Treaty of 1795 until after President Adams on February 4, 1798, instructed General Wilkinson to oppose any British movements of troops across the United States.¹⁷

¹⁵ Letter from Howard to Carondelet, June 14, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Document VIII below.

¹⁶ See in this connection Trudeau's letter to Carlos de Lassus, St. Louis, September 7, 1797, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 131, in which he states:

"Me ha venido noticias de McKina [Michilimackinac] de 18 del mes pasado, donde havia llegado de cierto el General Wilkinson y corria la voz en dho Puesto que havian llegado al de troit 400 hombres de tropa destinados por diferentes puntos de nuestras circanias, lo que participo a Vm. como es devido en esta circunstancia."

¹⁷ Letter from Howard to Carondelet, June 27, 1797, and letter from Cerré to Trudeau, Chicago, June 18, 1797, manuscripts in the Bancroft Library, Documents XI and X, respectively below; Smith's *St. Clair Papers* (Cincinnati, 1882), Vol. I, pp. 204, 205. See also Bemis's *Pinckney's Treaty* (Baltimore, 1926) for earlier period; and Turner's *The Policy of France toward the Mississippi Valley in the Period of Washington and Adams* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. X, pp. 273-275. A few general remarks concerning Cerré's voyage to Canada are contained in the drafts of Carondelet's letters to Howard, New Orleans, July 17, 1797, and to Cerré, April 25, 1798, in Papeles de Cuba, legajos 131 and 215, respectively. See also the correspondence printed in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, Vol. II, pp. 66-103,

Howard left St. Louis about the first of August, leaving Trudeau with forty men. In reporting to the Governor General, Trudeau stated that within six weeks the Illinois would have little to fear from Canada, and since "our neighbors [Americans?] are so near, it is necessary to be on our guard in case of hostile action, which reports announce may occur."¹⁸

During the month of August little cause for action occurred. In fact the Lieutenant Governor of the Spanish Illinois received very little news. About this time, a nephew of the deceased Andrew Todd, who had come to take charge of his deceased uncle's affairs, arrived in St. Louis from Canada and reported that there was "nothing of interest" transpiring in Canada. The Spaniards still had Cerré in that region, and he would not return except when "the season will oblige him or when something unexpectedly comes up and it will be necessary for him to report to St. Louis."

Trudeau also reported that the nations of the Mississippi were behaving well. The Indians were jealously guarding the entrance to the Des Moines River¹⁹ and every Britisher who attempted to enter would be repulsed. The Lieutenant Governor received an ambassador from the Indians once a month. He bewailed the fact that the presents which he could give to the Indians were far from being satisfactory or sufficient in amounts, particularly on account of the lack of traders and especially of powder which "is to them [the Indians] so necessary to make their livelihood." Accord-

passim. A good summary of Spain's policy in the lower Mississippi country is given in Riley's *Spanish Policy in Mississippi after the Treaty of San Lorenzo* in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1897, pp. 175-192.

¹⁸ Letter from Trudeau to Carondelet, St. Louis, July 29, 1797, in *Papeles de Cuba*, legajo 35.

¹⁹ This is the writer's conjecture. The name of the river is torn out of the original document.

ing to the tone of this missive, Trudeau's fear of English aggression seems to have subsided for the time being, but he was anxious to hear the news regarding the relations between the United States and Spain. The Americans who were his neighbors were very quiet, he said, but he had not heard news regarding the United States nor had he received any letters from the Governor since the twentieth of April. Carondelet instructed the Lieutenant Governor that he must keep the Indians of the Upper Mississippi region in this good disposition despite the lack of provisions, forces, and facilities at hand.²⁰

A week later Trudeau wrote to Howard as follows: "I enclose for you a letter from the new confidential agent whom we have on the upper part of this river, by which you will see that the Indians in the neighborhood of McKina came to invite the Saquias and Renard nations, who are attached to us, to go to McKina. In this there would be nothing strange if it were not for the rumors from different directions that a number of troops are expected at McKina. Either we are going to have war soon with the United States of America,²¹ or they have undertaken to guard the passes of the Chicago and Wisconsin. The latter seems to me the most probable, for if an expedition were to be

²⁰ Letter from Trudeau to Carondelet, St. Louis, August 31, 1797, and draft of letter from Carondelet to Trudeau, New Orleans, October 17, 1797, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 131.

²¹ In his letter to Grenville (see note 4 above) Liston stated that Blount's case had contributed to the continuance of the misunderstanding between the United States and Spain over the surrender of the posts on the frontier of Louisiana. On March 24, 1797, and on April 3, Carondelet (?) intimated to Carlos Howard concerning the imminence of war with the United States and ordered the lieutenant colonel to be ready to descend to Nogales with all his forces, leaving no more than thirty men in St. Louis — for he feared an American invasion of Spanish territory. — Drafts of letters from Carondelet (?) to Howard, New Orleans, March 24, and April 3, 1797, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 131. See also the correspondence printed in *American State Papers, Foreign Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 66-103, and Turner's *Documents on the Blount Conspiracy, 1795-1797*, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. X.

formed against this province it would more properly be formed by way of the Ohio, because they have there greater conveniences. Nevertheless, my duty is to inform you of what comes to my knowledge and I am doing it at the same time that this letter reaches me.”²²

Meanwhile the fortifications of St. Louis were being steadily carried out under the direction of Van den Benden and De Finiels, who had recently arrived in St. Louis, having been sent there by the Spanish minister to the United States.²³

That the action of the Spaniards began to tell upon the British is evident from the letter which Thomas Duggan wrote to Joseph Chew from St. Joseph on July 9, 1797: “This Spring our Traders in the Mississippi were nearly pillaged by the Saques [Sacs] and Renards [Foxes] headed by some traders of St. Louis with authority from the Spanish Commandant of that place, fortunately for our Traders a party of Sioux were at La Prairie du Chien which overawed the other Indians and their property was saved.”²⁴

On December 1, 1797, Trudeau dispatched a letter to Governor General Gayoso de Lemos in which he speaks of James Wilkinson’s attempt to secure for the Americans the friendship and allegiance of the Sac and Fox Indians. He enclosed Wilkinson’s speech to those Indians delivered by Gillespie. But the Lieutenant Governor was able to boast that the Sac and Fox Indians, although they had never had a war with the Americans, had never been brought under

²² Letter from Trudeau to Howard, September 7, 1797, a manuscript in the Baneroft Library. No enclosures accompany this letter in the Baneroft Library.

²³ Letter from De Finiels to Carondelet (?), St. Louis, January 14, 1798, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 215; letter from Howard to Carondelet, July 7, 1797, a manuscript in the Baneroft Library, Document VII below; Houck’s *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 133 ff. and 225 ff.

²⁴ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 457; *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 523.

their influence. Despite the fact that those natives inhabited both sides of the Mississippi, they were attached to the Spaniards and often went to St. Louis. That winter they were hunting on the Missouri and Trudeau could say, "quedo confiado que con los Yndios mas inclinados en nuestro favor."²⁵

The following March, Trudeau reported to Governor General Gayoso de Lemos that in the following month some three thousand Indians and white traders from Michilimackinac were to assemble at Prairie du Chien. The excuse given for the meeting was to undertake to make peace between the Sioux and Sautaux [Chippewa] nations in the interests of bettering trade.

Trudeau feared so large an assemblage of people on the Mississippi, whence they could easily descend upon St. Louis within ten days and he mistrusted the motives of the traders, who might influence the Indians to join in another attack upon St. Louis such as that which had occurred on May 26, 1780.²⁶ To protect Spanish interests Trudeau ordered the galeota *La Flecha* to go up the river for the purpose of keeping guard and acquiring information and to report all findings to him. In addition the Lieutenant Governor established a volunteer guard at a point just opposite the mouth of the Illinois River, in order that the British might not descend into the Spanish Illinois region via that river. These men were to remain as "confidentes" among the Sac and Potawatomi nations who were the most numerous and influential of the tribes. They were also to

²⁵ Letter from Trudeau to Gayoso de Lemos, St. Louis, December 1, 1797, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2371. A copy of this letter and a copy of the enclosure, the speech of Wilkinson to the Sac and Fox Indians, are in the Bancroft Library.

²⁶ For an account of the attack upon St. Louis in 1780 see Nasatir's *The Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country during the American Revolution 1779-1783* in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXI, October, 1928.

watch the inclinations and movements of those tribes and especially the reports and communications which they presumably were holding at this time with the British and Americans.²⁷

Commanded by Bernardo Molina, the *La Flecha* departed from St. Louis on March 22, 1798. Its destination was Prairie du Chien. They met several traders on their upward journey and also held council with the Sac and Fox Indians. It is unnecessary to summarize the events which transpired on the voyage for they are given in full in the *Journal* of the voyage kept by the interpreter of the expedition, François Cailhol, which is translated below on pages 383-388.²⁸

Such were some of the events that transpired on the Anglo-Spanish frontier in the Iowa country during 1797 and a part of the year of 1798. The writer believes that sufficient evidence has been produced to show that the Spaniards were actively engaged in trying to keep the British out of the Iowa country and to protect all the territory over which its flag floated.

It is unnecessary to supply any extended comment concerning the documents which follow. They are presented in English translation, since all have been utilized in preparing the narrative above. So far as the writer knows, none of them has ever been published heretofore. The translations follow closely the original text, with no attempt to present a smooth or polished version. All the documents printed are preserved in the Bancroft Library of the University of California.

ABRAHAM P. NASATIR

STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
SAN DIEGO CALIFORNIA

²⁷ Letter from Trudeau to Gayoso de Lemos, No. 319, St. Louis, March 16, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Document XIV below.

²⁸ A manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Document XV below.

DOCUMENT I

LETTER FROM PREVOST²⁹ TO TRUDEAU

APRIL 26, 1797

On my arrival at Chicagou the twenty-third of the present month, I met a man coming from Detroit named Ange³⁰ who reported that Major Emtremcke³¹ commander of Detroit, told him that he believed that the Americans had joined with the English to declare war on the French. I believe this man employed by the Americans would surely know if it is true. He also said positively that St. Jean de Miklon³² at the mouth of the St. Laurent River has been conquered by the French and that it is proposed, in the course of this campaign, to take Quebec. I report this to you as I have heard it. It is the opinion of all the Americans. This same man, named Ange, is coming to the Illinois, where you can question him personally.

The English bid the savages always hold their hand. It is not difficult to understand what they mean.

God help you and believe me with respect,

Your very humble

and very obedient servant,

To Monsier Zenon Trudeau

Prevost (rubric)

Commandant at St. Louis

La Gibaudiere, April 26, 1797.

²⁹ Prevost was at the Peoria village in June, 1798. — Letter from Prevost to Rinon (?), June 25, 1798, a manuscript in the Baneroft Library. A Pierre Prevost is mentioned in Alvord's *Kaskaskia Records* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. V, Springfield, 1909); Alvord's *Cahokia Records* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. II, Springfield, 1907); and Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 389-392.

³⁰ An Augustine Ange is mentioned as a settler at Prairie du Chien. — Houck's *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 79. See also *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. IX, pp. 282, 285, Vol. X, p. 318, Vol. XI pp. 249, 250.

³¹ Major John Francis Hamtranck. — See Smith's *St. Clair Papers* (Cincinnati, 1882); Alvord's *Kaskaskia Records*; Esarey's *Historic Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1918); Heitman's *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, Vol. I, p. 496.

³² Miquelon, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River.

DOCUMENT II

LETTER FROM ZENON TRUDEAU TO CARLOS HOWARD³³

MAY 10, 1797

Reservado:

As you charged me in your private letter (*oficio reservado*) of the second of this present month, I have tried by all possible means to secure news concerning and the location of the English posts which are the nearest to us, as well as the attitude in which one might expect to find their inhabitants. The one at Michilimakinak, which you mentioned to me, was abandoned and given up to the Americans³⁴ in the month of August of the year just passed. They maintain in its fort a garrison of sixty men under the command of a captain. A part of the English garrison of the same place went with a lieutenant to establish Point Tesason on the shore of Lake Huron,³⁵ fifteen leagues from the island of Michilimakinak. According to report the garrison of Tesason is at present about sixty men and, like Michilimakinak, without settlers or inhabitants. The fortifications must be such as they have been able to build since the month of last August to the present time, considering that in the winter they were not able to work at all.

The fort of Detroit also went to the Americans. It is three hundred leagues distant from Illinois by land and four hundred by the rivers, lakes, etc. On its surrender the English went and fortified themselves on the opposite bank³⁶ and they must have about three hundred men in the garrison. It is well settled by Canadians, Englishmen, and

³³ This is a certified copy attested by Carlos Howard.

³⁴ According to the provisions of Jay's Treaty.

³⁵ This is probably St. Joseph's Island. When the British gave up Michilimackinac in 1796, the British soldiers moved to St. Joseph's Island where they built a fort and remained there until the outbreak of the War of 1812. — *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. xviii, 447, 448.

³⁶ Malden.

Americans and for a long time St. Louis and its environs has had no communications with them, for this reason, that their intention [disposition] is not known and to my way of thinking it will be difficult to establish communications with them and aid them in case of a revolution unless one learns some other place, nearer by, which is settled by the English with which we might communicate since we have to pass through American territory in all directions. The honorable citizens and good subjects with whom you can speak with all confidence regarding the most particular information that is needed concerning the above mentioned English settlements of Canada and the most practical way to do them as much harm as possible will be Don Gabriel Cerré,³⁷ Don August Chouteau,³⁸ and Don Antonio Reilhe.³⁹ The first is a Canadian and there is rarely a year that passes in which he does not make a trip to Montreal, which he visited in September of last year. Don Antonio Reilhe has also spent much time in Canada, and Don August Chouteau is a man who has always managed to inform himself about that country, its trade, and the customs of its citizens.

I see no possibility of attacking our opponent except in

³⁷ For material on Cerré consult Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*; Houck's *History of Missouri*; Billon's *Annals of St. Louis under French and Spanish Dominations* (St. Louis, 1886); Alvord's *Kaskaskia Records*; Alvord's *Cahokia Records*; Thompson's *Penalties of Patriotism in the Journal of the State Historical Society of Illinois*, Vol. IX; *Sketch of Gabriel Cerré in the Missouri Historical Collections*, Vol. II, pp. 58-76; James's *George Rogers Clark Papers (Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VIII)*; and James's *George Rogers Clark* (Chicago, 1928).

³⁸ One of the pioneers of St. Louis. Auguste Chouteau was one of the outstanding merchants in St. Louis and had business connections with Michilimackinac and Montreal. For some published material on the Chouteaus see Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri* and also his *History of Missouri*, and Nasatir's "Chouteaus and the Indian Trade of the West" (manuscript thesis).

³⁹ Associated with Clamorgan and a director of the Missouri Company. For some published material on Reilhe see Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri* and Houck's *History of Missouri*.

the commerce which they may come to engage in on the Mississippi passing through the lakes and down the Wisconsin River which flows into it some three hundred leagues above St. Louis. It would be an easy matter if it were not that they fear greatly the Indians who are accustomed to trade with the English and will protect their persons and their goods, which I also know for a fact will be protected by American passports which they will secure in Michilimackinac through which they will be obliged to pass.

As for the English post established among the Mandan,⁴⁰ five hundred leagues up the Missouri, only a few persons would be necessary to destroy it if it were not for the Sioux Indians, who every year harass the passing of our traders. This will make it necessary for you to send at least fifty men in small boats. With this precaution they will surely be able to get there but in order to do it it is absolutely necessary [indispensable] for them to start the beginning of the month of June at the very latest, for otherwise they will be forced to spend the winter on the way, exposed to hunger and unable to reach there until the spring of the following year.

I have given you a verbal report of having sent a man named Honorato Taisson⁴¹ with five men to pass to the settlement of Prairie du Chien, now American, which is three hundred leagues from St. Louis on the east bank of

⁴⁰ Concerning this problem see Nasatir's *Spanish Exploration of the Upper Missouri* in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XIV, pp. 59-63; Quaife's *Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal — and Others* in the *Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society*, 1915, pp. 186-210. For a more complete account see Nasatir's *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri* in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVI.

⁴¹ Honoré Tesson or Tesson Honoré. He received a rather extensive grant of land on the present site of Montrose, Lee County, Iowa. — See *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XII, pp. 369, 370, Vol. XIV, pp. 331, 332. There are a number of references to Honoré in the documents here published. A number of Tesson documents are also to be found in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society.

the Mississippi. Here the English are accustomed to assemble after they have been trading with the Indians for the purpose of observing there what is happening not only among our enemies but also among the Indians. I have charged him to win them over to our side by giving them the collar customarily used for the purpose, and with the especial charge to send any news that may come to his knowledge, and to return himself with his company as soon as he learns definitely of hostile movements against these settlements.

At the same time and with the same commission a man named Prevost⁴² was sent to the place called Chicagou. He will examine the passage of the Lake Michigan into the Illinois River, whose confluence with the Mississippi is thirteen leagues distant from St. Louis. Because of not finding a white man capable of understanding and making the trip by land to Detroit, I have sent a half-breed of the Miamia nation, called Blue Eyes, who has a family, a house, and stock under the protection of this government. I hope that he will honorably fulfill his duty and return to report the movements that are on foot in that district against us.

May God keep you for many years.

St. Louis, May 10, 1797.

Zenon Trudeau

To Sr. Don Carlos Howard.

This is a copy of the original

Howard. (rubric)

DOCUMENT III

LETTER FROM CARLOS HOWARD TO CARONDELET

MAY 13, 1797

In accordance with the instructions⁴³ you were pleased

⁴² See letter of Prevost to Trudeau, April 26, 1797, Document I.

⁴³ The instructions are printed in the *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. III, pp. 71-91.

to give me in your letter of November twenty-sixth last concerning managing to destroy English commerce as far as possible not only on the upper Mississippi but on the Missouri; for this purpose arranging an expedition to the San Pedro River; sending another to capture the post of San Joseph on the river of the same name which empties into Lake Michigan; but first of all to destroy (since his majesty's orders are positive on this point) a fort which it is believed has been built by the English among the Mandans on the Missouri;⁴⁴ and ending that Lieutenant Colonel Zenon Trudeau,⁴⁵ and the captain of the militia, Don Carlos Tayon,⁴⁶ would inform me on all the above-mentioned points in general concerning the expedition against San Joseph and the active traders on the Missouri. With regard to the Mandan nation, from the best information that I have been able to secure from the above-mentioned persons, as well as from several others and particularly Don Diego McCay,⁴⁷ who returned a few days ago from the Missouri which he has been exploring since the month of July of '95, it turns out that the said post of San Joseph as well as the post of

⁴⁴ Regarding the fort among the Mandan, see Nasatir's *Spanish Exploration of the Upper Missouri* in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XIV; and Quaife's *Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal — and Others* in the *Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society*, 1915, pp. 186 *et seq.* A full account of the Anglo-Spanish rivalry on the Upper Missouri can be found in Nasatir's *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri* in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVI.

⁴⁵ Zenon Trudeau was Lieutenant Governor of Spanish Illinois, 1792-1799.

⁴⁶ Don Carlos Tayon, later commandant of St. Charles. Concerning him see Houck's *History of Missouri* and Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, consult indexes.

⁴⁷ James Mackay. — See Mackay's *Journal* printed in Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 181 *et seq.*; Quaife's *Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal — and Others* in the *Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society*, 1915; Teggart's *Notes Supplementary to Any Edition of Lewis and Clark* in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1908, Vol. I, pp. 190 *ff.*; Nasatir's *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri* in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVI.

Michilimakinak was handed over to the Americans last year⁴⁸ so that the nearest English post there is to this place (which seems to be Tesalon, an island in Lake Huron) is more than three hundred leagues. To get to this post one must first secure the permission of the United States or rather violate their neutrality,⁴⁹ all of which is clear from the enclosed official note to Don Zenin [Zenon] Trudeau.

As to the existence of a trading-post or small English fort in the Mandan nation it appears that there is no doubt according to the assurances of the above-mentioned McCay who has given me an explicit report of the route taken by the English both from Canada and from Hudson Bay in reaching that Indian nation.⁵⁰ I will send you a translation of this report as soon as time permits.

McCay also informed me that before he came down the Missouri he had definite information that Don Juan Evans,⁵¹ who had been sent to explore a route to the Pacific Ocean had crossed the Mandan Nation successfully on the way to the Shining Mountains (Montañas Relucientes), alias the White (Blancos) Mountains, alias the Rocky (Pedregosos) Mountains and that once they were crossed he believed it would be easy to reach the sea.

According to what McCay has lead me to believe, although difficult, it is not impossible to dislodge the English from

⁴⁸ In accordance with the provisions of Jay's Treaty.

⁴⁹ "Tesalon" is most likely St. Joseph's Island. — See note 35 above. With regard to allowing British soldiers to cross American territory, see Bemis's *Pinckney's Treaty*; Smith's *St. Clair Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 204, 205; Turner's *Policy of France toward the Mississippi Valley in the Period of Washington and Adams* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. X, pp. 273–275.

⁵⁰ See in this connection Mackay's *Journal* in Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 181 *et seq.*; and *Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society*, 1915, pp. 186 *et seq.*

⁵¹ John Evans. — See *Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal — and Others* in the *Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society*, 1915, pp. 186–210.

among the Mandans, but in order to accomplish [that] I should have to be supplied with more aid than I now have and it would have to be begun before they have advanced beyond their present position. Moreover, I would seriously devote myself to discussing the most desirable measures for the enterprise if I were not restrained by the fact that at present the good faith of my immediate neighbors is suspicious.

May God keep you for many years! St. Louis de Illinois, May 13, 1797.

Carlos Howard⁵² (rubric)

To the Baron de Carondelet.⁵³

DOCUMENT IV

LETTER⁵⁴ FROM CARLOS HOWARD TO CARONDELET

MAY 13, 1797

Three days ago a decent and not at all ignorant citizen of Kaskaskias named Morrison was here.⁵⁵ He told Don Augusto Chouteau,⁵⁶ so the latter informed me, that the

⁵² Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Howard.

⁵³ Baron de Carondelet was Governor General of Louisiana, 1791-1797. For a sketch of his administration see Gayarré's *History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination*.

The draft of Carondelet's reply to this letter is as follows:

"En oficio de 13 de Mayo me informé Vm. consequente a mis ordenes acerca de la posibilidad de destruir el Comercio ingles tanto sobre el alto Missisipi, como sobre el Misury, de todo quedo enterado, y habiendo Vm. ya dado disposiciones para que cruze una Goleta sobre el Rio Moingona [Des Moines], que es lo que parece puede hacerse por ahora; es menester eplicarse luego que estemos seguros de nuestros vecinos los Americanos a cumplir la orden del Rey sobre el Misuri, destruyendo el fuerte ó factoria, que los Yngleses tienen en los Mandanas objeto primitivo de la expedicion de Vm."—Draft of letter from Carondelet (?) to Carlos Howard, New Orleans, July 18, 1797, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 131.

⁵⁴ This is incomplete. The first folio or folios are missing.

⁵⁵ William Morrison was a merchant at Kaskaskia. For some material on Morrison consult Alvord's *The Illinois Country* (Springfield, 1920); Coues's *The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike* (New York, 1897); and Chittenden's *History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1902).

⁵⁶ On Auguste Chouteau, see Document II.

English were assembling the Indians in the neighborhood of Detroit. I afterwards talked with this same citizen, and when I asked him casually for the news of the day he told me he did not know of any; but later on I asked him if he had not said something about the English assembling the Indians for the purpose of restraining and terrorizing a certain uprising of citizens which had occurred in Montreal, and he replied (not without some hesitation, I thought) in the negative. Afterwards Chouteau confirmed what he had said about this and also what is contained in the enclosed letter from Monsieur Prevost⁵⁷ to Don Zenon Trudeau Michilimakinak; but for all this it will be necessary to disburse actual money, or to lower the duties on the goods which those in charge of the two expeditions may bring on their return.

It annoys me not a little to be the author of such a project, which I know is exposed to being judged by people of small ideas as directed to my own interest; but since my object is, I assert on my honor, none other than the best service of the king, and dependent at the same time on the necessary approval of Your Lordship, I despise such people, especially since I have not been able to contrive, on account of the scarcity surrounding me, any other plan, with probability of success, of penetrating the intentions of our enemies. All the news of this country, excepting that of the public knowledge on the whole Ohio of the circumstances of Your Lordship's refusal to deliver up the posts of this river, lead to it:⁵⁸ but I have not heard that those people are complaining of it, and I am inclined to believe that it gives them very little anxiety so long as they are not prevented from free navigation of the Misisipi.

⁵⁷ On Prevost, see Document I.

⁵⁸ This is not intelligible to the translator. It is apparent that there is something missing between the two folios still extant in the Bancroft Library.

But it is not to be supposed that the Federal Government will look upon it with the same indifference, for it is dominated, and particularly its new President, according to appearances, by the English party, although it is held as certain that the Vice-President and the mass of the people are attached to that of France. Nevertheless it is my opinion (of little value in truth) that we have more to suspect than to gain from American friendship, not only in present circumstances but also at all times and occasions, because of the deeply rooted, though erroneous belief, which is imbued in the common mass, upper and lower of those people, that simply by scratching the ground one may find heaps of gold and silver in the dominions of Spain, particularly in Mexico, to which they believe it is easy to cross by way of this river.

God keep Your Lordship many years. San Louis, Yllinois, May 13, 1797.

Carlos Howard (rubric)

Señor Baron de Carondelet.

DOCUMENT V

COPY OF THE NOTE SENT BY HONORÉ TO THE GOVERNOR
OF MICHILIMACKINAC⁵⁹ MAY 18, 1797

Prairie du Chien, May 18, 1797.

I desire to inform the government of Misseli Machinac, commanded by [under the jurisdiction of] the United States of American that the flag that was erected a la Riviere des Ayouwas⁶⁰ in the Saqui⁶¹ village is the same flag which the Spanish government gave to M. Mongrain and Co.⁶² to be treated with respect. Since it has been

⁵⁹ Enclosed in a letter from Howard to Carondelet, June 14, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Document VIII.

⁶⁰ The Iowa River.

⁶¹ Sac village.

⁶² Mongrain and Company was operating for Todd in the Iowa country.
—Letter from Isaac Todd to Trudeau, Michilimackinae, June 27, 1797, en-

proved to me that this has not been done by two persons, who are M. Glaspé and M. Clofford,⁶³ who not only showed disrespect for the flag but also for the troops that spent the winter on the river Desmoines.

This is the reason why we hope that the governor of Misselimachinac will be pleased to regard the treaty that exists between the two territories and that he will be convinced that the government of Spain has given no order for the breaking of the treaty.

However, we have been obliged to pursue two persons who have shown themselves open enemies at the time of actual war with England. Of this we will give proof on the evidence of Frenchmen and savages from the Mississippi. For this reason I hope that you will give attention to whatever complaint is brought to you because there will be no other persons involved except these two gentlemen.

Signed Louis Tesson Honnoré fils.

DOCUMENT VI

SPEECH OF CAPTAIN T. PASTEUR TO THE INDIANS⁶⁴

MAY 29, 1797

To Chiefs PENCHIPAO and VRACHIOWA and the warrior PETIT VOLEUR, concerning the case of the SAQUIAS INDIANS.

closed in a letter from Trudeau to Carondelet, No. 191, St. Louis, July 21, 1797, manuscripts in the Bancroft Library. See also Documents XII and XIII.

⁶³ George Gillespie and Redford (?) Crawford were British traders who had headquarters at Prairie du Chien.—*American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 711, 712, 714. Some information concerning them can be gleaned from the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, p. 337; *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XII, pp. 170, 171, 487-491; *Memoir of J. B. Faribault* in the *Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. III. See also letter from Howard to Carondelet, June 14, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Document VIII.

⁶⁴ This is a certified copy in French and is enclosed in a letter from Howard to Carondelet, June 18, 1797, printed as Document IX. Captain Thomas Pasteur was commander of Fort Knox, 1794.—See Heitman's *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, Vol. I, p. 773; *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, p. 550. Pasteur made many other speeches to the Indians, copies of two of which are in the Bancroft Library,

My brothers:

I regret that so long a time has passed before my making you this reply. I hope that the great distance from here to the Great Chief, my father, will be a sufficient excuse. It seems that there is no convenient way to have you go to Philadelphia now, where our great and good father lives. I have, therefore, provided you with clothing, arms and ammunition such as I have at present, and when I tell you that I was not waiting to see strange brothers when one of yours arrived and I had no goods such as my father provides for his children, I hope you will be satisfied with your father and what I have done.

I now pass on to giving you some advice briefly which I think will be for your good and to which I hope that you will pay attention: return at once to your nation with what I have given you; inform them of what I have said to you; and you will say that when they are moved again to send a deputation to my father, they must go to Fort Wayne because there they will be nearer the Great Chief and he will be able to provide for them better than I can do; present my affectionate and respectful compliments to your chiefs and tell them to trust a faithful brother when he tells them that the surest and the only way they can be happy is to remember that he is strong and powerful and that those who shall make him use his forces will find him irresistible; that they must be warned not to lend their ears to anyone whatsoever who might invite them to close their ears against my father because by such procedure they will plunge themselves into total ruin, but, on the other hand, while they conduct themselves like faithful children my father will aid them and protect them against any white people whatsoever and in time you will be able to see his

viz., March 10, 1798, enclosed in a letter from Trudeau to Gayoso de Lemos, No. 20, St. Louis, August 19, 1798; and one which he delivered at Vincennes on July 17, 1794, manuscripts in the Bancroft Library.

face and hear his pleasant voice; assure them that if he is forced into war against any other white people he will not under any conditions ask his red children to fight for him, for he is able to fight his own battles, as he has done previously and all he asks of his red children is to remain quiet at home and to look out for their wives and children.

My brothers, I bid you farewell and wish you a quick and pleasant return to your homes and a happy welcome from your relatives and friends. My wish is that you remain wise enough to continue to deserve the good will of my father. Farewell.

Fort Knox, May 29, 1797.

Signed — T. Pasteur, Captain of the First
Regiment, Commander of Fort Knox.

Copy, translated from the original English.

Howard (rubric).

DOCUMENT VII

LETTER FROM HOWARD TO CARONDELET

JUNE 7, 1797

The official letters received by Your Lordship on the present occasion, with dates previous to this, were ready to be sent by express messenger when there arrived here on the third of the current month Don Nicolás Finiels,⁶⁵ formerly captain of artillery in the service of the United States. He delivered to me on the part of His Majesty's Minister in Philadelphia papers among which he inserts a copy for me, under date of the thirteenth of March, of the letter which he directed to Your Lordship on the same date, explaining to you the measures which he had taken to place in a state of defense this outlying territory of His Majesty.

This letter of the Minister and information given by the

⁶⁵ De Finiels was a French engineer sent by the Chevalier de Irujo, Spanish Ambassador to the United States, to strengthen the defenses and fortifications of St. Louis. His appointment is contained in Irujo's letter to De Finiels, Philadelphia, March 20, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library.

aforesaid Finiels, who left Philadelphia on the second of April, gave me to understand that all the rumors and talk which had been going around in this neighborhood to the effect that the American Government was making preparations to invade the province were absolutely unfounded. The reasons which had caused me to detain the galleys⁶⁶ here being therefore voided, I thought it was better to hold back the said previous letters in order to send them together with this and another on the boats.

It would be improper for me to comment on the copy of the letter from the Minister; but, with all deference to his superior knowledge and understanding, which, on account of his nearer presence, he no doubt has in regard to what passes among the English, I think that some of the information that has been given to him is not strictly accurate. But, at the same time, it was natural to his illustrious zeal to take the measures which (on account of his ignorance of the very effective steps which the foresighted activity of Your Lordship, as far as was permitted by the small resources lent by the restricted nature of the country, had already taken since the month of last November, in order to put this place in a state of resistance to any sudden blow on the part of the English or savages) he put into effect, and which he sets forth in six points.

The first point was the petition which [was] made to the Secretary of State of the United States, by word of mouth and in writing, explaining the hostile intentions of England and requesting him to cause the neutrality of his territory to be respected.

The second sets forth the efficacious measure taken by the Minister in dispatching a trustworthy man to the Lakes to ascertain whether troops were actually being assembled in

⁶⁶ Carondelet approved of Howard's detaining the galleys. — Draft of a letter from Carondelet (?) to Howard, New Orleans, April 27, 1797, in *Papeles de Cuba*, legajo 131.

any part, their number, character, and whether they are taking artillery, etc.

It is to be noted that similar measures were put into effect here before my arrival by Lieutenant-Colonel⁶⁷ Don Zenon Trudeau; and it is learned from a confidential person who is still on the Illinois River that in the entire extent of this river there was nothing new on the second of last month; and from a trustworthy chief of the Sakia nation who came down three days ago from Prairie du Chien it was learned that on the twenty-fifth of the same month everything was quiet in that neighborhood. On the fifteenth of March an inhabitant of San Fernando left here charged with finding out what was going on in Detroit; he was arrested by the commandant of the post of Vincennes, who was deceived by the rumors which were circulating there of a break on our part with the United States, but when the falsity of these rumors was learned he was released, and has gone on to his first destination. It is already known to you that a commission was given to Cerré, Jr., to go up the Ohio, a step which it appears now might have been omitted, but which will never be wasted, if one keeps in mind how important it is to learn in time and with certainty what may have been determined by Congress in the extraordinary meeting which was to begin on the fifteenth day of May. The rumor is growing that this meeting is deferred until the twentieth of the present month. Finally, the destination to Michilimackinac, and if possible to Montreal, of Cerré, Sr., who is experienced in those countries and versed in the language of their savages, has been calculated so that he may be in the first named post some time this month, which is the season that the traders from Canada gather there in order to start on their trading expeditions with the various Indian nations of that immense territory, includ-

⁶⁷ Lieutenant Governor.

ing those situated on the upper part of this river. Also, a careful inquiry is being made into the object of the collars which, as I inform Your Lordship in a separate official letter, are being passed about among the Indians of the Missouri River. Yesterday there arrived here from the Osages — after a residence among them of two years — Lieutenant of Militia Don Pedro Montardy, who had not seen in that nation any attempt on the part of the British to cause commotions among those Indians. Montardy added that the relatives of the two Indians who are prisoners here, for the reasons that Your Lordship knows, showed that they were much disturbed, and anxious to know what would be the fate of their compatriots, although they admitted at the same time that they deserved death.

In respect to the third point of the aforesaid letter from the Minister, nothing occurs to me to say about its contents, except that I have received Don Nicolás Finiels with all the attention due to the high recommendation that he brings; but I have excused myself, politely but firmly, from employing him or giving him any knowledge of the plan of provisional works drawn up by Don Luis Van den Benden⁶⁸ until I receive an explicit order from Your Lordship to that end, telling him at the same time that he might in the interim count upon the hundred pesos monthly that the Minister has assigned to him. I do not doubt that this person will be a good engineer, but I understand that he has devoted himself more particularly to the branch of artillery; it seems that he left a wife and mother-in-law in New Madrid.

In regard to the fourth point, it does not pertain to me to give an opinion, but, in truth, the perspicacity and talent

⁶⁸ Louis Van den Benden was a Dutch engineer appointed by Governor General Carondelet to erect fortifications at St. Louis. Some material concerning De Finiels and Van den Benden can be gleaned from Houck's *History of Missouri* and Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*.

of General Collot⁶⁹ must be very extraordinary, if he could acquire a *perfect* knowledge of this country in the short space of two and a half days that he remained in it, without having in that time done anything more than go and come by a direct road to San Carlos on the Missouri, accompanied by the rector Don Pedro José Didier, and going one afternoon to the arroyo distant about half a mile from here, on which Your Lordship ordered that a dam should be built. Nor did he, I am very sure, set foot inside the fort of San Luis, or travel to the north of the town where the stone bastion is situated.

The fifth point simply treats of Finiels as the bearer of the papers.

What the Minister says in his sixth point in regard to having chartered a ship in order to inform the Captain-General of Cuba of everything is another eminent mark of his zeal and efficacy; it is only to be desired that these qualities may produce the effect of causing the money and troops to be sent which it is very evident are needed in the present straitened circumstances of the province.

The Minister concludes by telling me that Mr. Finiels brings his instructions, which are reduced to what Your Lordship will see in the accompanying copy of the original.

After reflecting well upon everything, I have determined that Don Luis Van den Benden shall continue the works already begun until he receives further orders from Your Lordship, for I do not think myself authorized to obey any others whatever, no matter how well attested they may be.

God keep Your Lordship many years. St. Louis de Illinois, June 7, 1797.

Carlos Howard (rubric)

Señor Baron de Carondelet.

⁶⁹ On Victor Collot see his *Journey in North America* (Paris, 1826 — reprint in English translation, Firenze, 1924); Turner's *Policy of France toward the*

DOCUMENT VIII

LETTER FROM HOWARD TO CARONDELET

JUNE 14, 1797

I talked this morning with the chiefs of the Sakias, Renard [Fox], and Puant nations who arrived here three days ago accompanied by citizen Taisson Honoré,⁷⁰ who left Prairie du Chien on the twenty-third of the month just passed, at which time there was no evidence in that district of any gathering of savages or English for any expedition whatever; but a Mr. Dixon, who was about to depart for Michilimackinac on the thirteenth of the same month, told Honoré that he was expecting to meet on the way a pirogue carrying a mixed party of English and Americans who intended to settle the boundaries of the two nations on the Colorado River⁷¹ which flows much farther up than the falls of San Antonio⁷² towards the head of the Mississippi. Honoré also informed me that the Saquias and Renards of the Ayouwas⁷³ River had arrested there at his request some pirogues belonging to Galaspie and Crauford,⁷⁴ Englishmen by nation, although they pretended to be Americans. (They are the same men who committed the outrages of last year on the Moingona⁷⁵ River, that Your Lordship mentioned in your letter of February 14, last.)

Mississippi Valley in the Period of Washington and Adams in The American Historical Review, Vol. X, pp. 249 *et seq.*; Turner's *Documents on the Blount Conspiracy in The American Historical Review*, Vol. X, pp. 574 *et seq.*; Gayarré's *History of Louisiana, Spanish Domination*; and Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri* and Houck's *History of Missouri*.

⁷⁰ Louis Tesson Honoré or Honoré Tesson. For information concerning Tesson see note 41 above.

⁷¹ Red River of the North (?).

⁷² St. Anthony Falls.

⁷³ The Iowa Indians.

⁷⁴ Gillespie and Crawford, see note 63.

⁷⁵ Des Moines River.—See Honoré's letter to the Governor of Michilimackinac, Document V.

Having learned of his forbidding pirogues in the Ayouwas River,⁷⁶ these Englishmen arrested Honoré when he arrived at Prairie du Chien where they were and held him prisoner for three days until they forced him to send some one to tell the savages to let the canoes go, leaving as hostages for its fulfillment some friends that the prisoner had at Prairie du Chien, where there is a settlement of some twenty families, mostly creoles from Canada, partisans of the English, and some others who came here before the present and are still in favor of the Spaniards, together with a very few Americans, but there is no commandant, magistrate, or government whatsoever.

It seems that the said Galaspie and Crawford, after committing the outrages (of which they were guilty) on the Moingona,⁷⁷ tried to pull down the Spanish flag (a cross of Burgundy), which the Saquias and Renard Indians had put up there.

The savages of this last nation who have three villages in the vicinity of the River Aux Indes,⁷⁸ having learned of the imprisonment of Honoré at Prairie [du Chien] went up by our river until they arrived opposite it. From there they sent some of their men to demand his liberty, threatening in case it was denied to attack not only those settlers, but also seventy-two Sioux savages who had come at the summons of the above-mentioned Englishmen. The Sioux, convinced by the Renard of the evil of mixing in the affairs of white men, withdrew at once.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ The Iowa River.

⁷⁷ The Des Moines River.

⁷⁸ The word "Indes" is written over in the original. Iowa might possibly have been meant.

⁷⁹ For the English side of this story see Thomas Duggan's letter to Joseph Chew, St. Joseph, July 9, 1797, in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 457; and the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 523.

Honoré asserts that when he came away he left Mr. Julien Mombuc,⁸⁰ who lives opposite Prairie du Chien (and is the same person to whom Your Lordship recently granted a section of land), charged with the care of being on the lookout and giving immediate information here of the slightest movement on the part of the English or the Indians.

Honoré also informed me that the last of this month or the beginning of the next Galaspie and Crawford propose to send another load of goods on [to] the Moingona River.⁸¹ In order to seize these men and the aforesaid two Englishmen, I intend to send Juan Bautista Metzenger⁸² in the galliot, *Activa*, mounted with a four pound cannon (cañones de a quatro), four swivel-guns (pedreros), and six small guns (canons esmerillas) to relieve Molina. There should accompany him a corporal and six or eight picked soldiers and also the said Honoré, the latter with a view to persuading the Sakias and the Renards of the Ayowas River⁸³ to attack by land and the galliot by water, some twenty men, whom, I am informed, the said Englishmen have paid to protect their commerce on the Moingona River.⁸⁴

Without doubt it was with good intentions that Honoré wrote to the Governor of Michilimackinac the letter, of which I enclose⁸⁵ a copy for Your Lordship, but the confusion with which it is written and the failure to make visible the character of the writer (and the fact that the writer

⁸⁰ Probably Julien Dubuque.

⁸¹ The Des Moines River.

⁸² Concerning Metzenger see Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 130. He had charge of a galley.

⁸³ The Iowa River.

⁸⁴ The Des Moines River.

⁸⁵ Document V above.

lacks an obvious position), will doubtless cause him to be despised [scorned]. Your Lordship will please inform me whether I should write about the matter to the said Governor or to the Commandant-General of the Northwest Territory.

Don Manuel Garcia⁸⁶ is in charge of a calumet and a pipe of war for Your Lordship, which was given me by the Renard chief after I had the honor of smoking both in the name of Your Lordship.

Yesterday I received a letter under date of the tenth of the present month from our confidential agent on the Illinois River. At that time there was no news there nor on the Aux Sables River.⁸⁷

May God keep you for many years. St. Louis de Illinois, June 14, 1797.

Carlos Howard (rubric)

To the Baron de Carondelet.

DOCUMENT IX

LETTER FROM CARLOS HOWARD TO CARONDELET

JUNE 18, 1797

I am enclosing for Your Lordship a copy, translated into French, of the message in writing⁸⁸ which was sent on the twenty-ninth of last month in English by the commander of Fort Knox to the Sakias Indians, whose names are written at the head of the speech. The one called "El Ladron" [the Thief] and crafty enough, was sent last March by Don Zenon Trudeau in company with the two

⁸⁶ Manuel Garcia was *comandante* of the galera. — Draft of a letter from Carondelet (?) to Howard, New Orleans, April 27, 1797, in *Papeles de Cuba*, legajo 131.

⁸⁷ There is an Au Sable River in Michigan. — See *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. X, p. 101, Vol. XIII, p. 172, Vol. XVI, p. 120, Vol. XVII, pp. 276, 484, Vol. XX, pp. 48, 50; *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 294.

⁸⁸ See Document VI.

chiefs for the purpose of getting information of what was going on in the neighborhood of Fort Detroit. They returned here yesterday and they reported that the Poux [Potawatomi] nation, located near Detroit, were the bearers of collars to the other nearby Indian nations together with the report that the French had entered Canada. In view of this news the great council of the said nations sent a general order to all charging them not to give ear to the English henceforth. One of the companions of El Ladron added that he was entrusted with another speech of the same council inciting the nations on this side of the Mississippi to make war against the Osages.

You will give to what I have set forth the weight that your superior wisdom dictates, but in my humble understanding savages in general are little to be trusted and the above-mentioned two chiefs in particular, since they deny having received any help at Fort Knox and it is clear from the written word of the commander that he gave them clothes, arms, and ammunition.

The answer, that I gave these savages and all I have talked with up to the present, was aimed and will be aimed, until I receive new orders from you, to fix in their minds that the English, taken as friends or enemies, are false; that a few days ago they deceived the Spaniards and the French in a way that caused the two nations to quarrel, but that afterwards, informed of the deceit of the English, they recognized their error and quickly devoted themselves to returning to their old friendship, which is now stronger than ever so that the two nations form a single family; that the English are trying in the same way to deceive the Americans at present, but that although the latter start out according to their purpose they will not be long in undeceiving themselves and the best course that the savages can adopt in the meantime will be to keep quietly at home

and at their hunting and not allow either armed English [men] or Americans to pass through their land, since in the end they would treat them as they have treated the other nations, using towards them in the beginning flattering words, fine promises and perhaps even a few gifts. I ended my speeches by charging them to bring prompt information here of any assemblies whatever of the English or Americans against their old and true friends, the Spaniards, who have never coveted their land and never will covet it and who never allow any red men to leave their presence with their hands empty.

My messages are always by word of mouth since I do not feel authorized to give them in writing.

May God keep you for many years. St. Louis de Illinois, June 18, 1797.

Carlos Howard (rubric)

To the Baron de Carondelet.

DOCUMENT X

LETTER FROM GABRIEL CERRÉ TO [TRUDEAU] ⁸⁹

JUNE 18, 1797

Chicagou, June 18, 1797

Sir:

I take advantage of the opportunity of a young Poutewatami⁹⁰ Indian brave who is going to visit you. He is considered a chief. He came to receive me with a Spanish flag. I could not help giving him a small gift of tobacco, having nothing else. He asked me if he went to Illinois if you would give him some powder. I answered him that he might go there if he wished and that I thought you would receive him as one of your children. Moreover since he has always behaved well, I recommend him to you. There have

⁸⁹ This letter was unaddressed but was presumably to Lieutenant Governor Zenon Trudeau. This letter was enclosed in the one from Howard to Carondelet, June 27, 1797, Document XI.

⁹⁰ Potawatomi.

arrived here two canoes coming from Montreal, which left the fourth of May, and which report that the militia has been ordered to hold itself in readiness in case of need and one of them thinks it is to go to Quebec. Since a fleet of twenty-seven vessels appeared last autumn in the gulf they think that they will return this spring to besiege Quebec. It seems that Canada is at peace at present. Fifteen canoes have come from Montreal to McKinac.⁹¹ There is no reason to suppose that many others will not come also. This news was given me by boatmen who gave no further details. My respects to Mr. Howard.⁹² Please assure Madame Zenon of my regards.⁹³ I am, sir, most respectfully your very humble and obedient servant.

Cerré (rubric).⁹⁴

DOCUMENT XI

LETTER FROM CARLOS HOWARD TO CARONDELET

JUNE 27, 1797

Yesterday I received here the enclosed original letter from Don Gabriel Cerré.⁹⁵ It seems that the Chicagou River is situated at least a hundred and fifty leagues from here, above the head of the Illinois River, communication from one another being by [way of a] portage, the former emptying into Lake Michigan. This letter, written by an honorable man and one well versed in the language of these Indians, adds a great deal of force to the previous reports that I have sent you on the subject of there being no evidences that the English intend to trouble this country. This confirms me more and more in my determination to follow the Americans under the conditions that I made

⁹¹ Michilimackinac.

⁹² Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Howard.

⁹³ Madame Zenon Trudeau, wife of the Lieutenant Governor.

⁹⁴ On Cerré see Document II.

⁹⁵ Document X.

clear to you in the letter of the twenty-fifth of the present month.

I do not acquaint you with what the commandant of Nueva Madrid told me on the twenty-first of the present month since he informed me that he had told Your Lordship of the assembling of Americans at Fort Massiac and farther up on the Ohio. It seems probable that Colonel Butler and the people, who, it is said, have come with him by the Cherie River, have done so with a view to settle, together with the fifteen hundred men that they think are assembled near Natcheville, in Cumberland County. As a matter of fact, everything is problematical except the assembling of people in Fort Massiac. Within two weeks at the latest we shall know the true object of this meeting.

May God keep you for many years. St. Louis de Illinois, June 27, 1797.

Carlos Howard (rubric).

To the Baron de Carondelet.⁹⁶

DOCUMENT XII

LETTER FROM ISAAC TODD TO TRUDEAU⁹⁷

Michilimacka: 27th June 1797

Sir:

The unfortunate death of my nephew Andrew Todd⁹⁸ has

⁹⁶ The draft of Carondelet's reply is as follows:

"He leído el Oficio de Vm. de 27 de Junio en que me incluye la carta de Dn Gabriel Cerre que en efecto confirma la noticia de que los Yngleses no parece intentan por ahora molestar esos establecimientos, y nada tengo que prevenir a Vm. sobre el particular, ni sobre las noticias del Comandante de Nuevo Madrid confiado en que Vm. obrará conforme a las circunstancias, y siempre promoviendo el mejor servicio del Rey".—Draft of a letter from Carondelet (?) to Carlos Howard, New Orleans, July 17, 1797, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 131.

⁹⁷ Enclosed in a letter from Trudeau to Carondelet, St. Louis, July 21, 1797, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library, Document XIII below. This is written in English, but a Spanish translation is enclosed in Trudeau's letter.

⁹⁸ Andrew Todd was a British subject and merchant, who turned to Spanish Louisiana and became a Spanish subject when the fulfillment of the pro-

called me to this Post to attend to his concerns. Mr. Swan⁹⁹ & my Grand Nephew Mr. Merry¹⁰⁰ is very sensible of your kind & polite attention to them at St. Louis for which I beg leave to return you my best thanks, also for a letter you was so kind to write Mr. Swan the 27th April on his leaving S'Louis wherein you say there is no change in the commerce & exclusive privileges granted my late Nephew by Government in Louisiana, among which was the river de Moin. Mess^r. Mongrain & C^o. who wintred there could not benefit by the exclusive privileges Granted them as other Traders came thru to Trade and occasioned difficultys with the Indians, so that Mess^r. Mongrain & C^o did not bring out of the River Peltry sufficient to pay within 30,000 Livres of their outfitt — as I believe this Year no Traders from hence will attempt going to that River without your permission and as I trust the Trade of this River will this year — be continued to my Nephews Representatives for the benefit of his Estate, I intend soon to send my Grand Nephew to S'Louis in order to arrange this bussiness and obtain your permission & orders as I propose that he will winter in the River de Moin, by him I will have the honor of writing you and sending you some Tea & other things that may be acceptable at S'Louis.

visions of Jay's Treaty threatened his business. — Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 180, 254, 255; Houck's *History of Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 330, 331; Stevens's *The Northwest Fur Trade* (Urbana, 1928), pp. 114.

⁹⁹ James Swan was Isaac Todd's agent at Michilimackinac. — Quaife's *John Askin Papers* (Detroit, 1928), Vol. I, p. 375.

¹⁰⁰ Mr. Merry, nephew of Andrew Todd, arrived in St. Louis before August 30th for on that day Trudeau advised Howard of the arrival of Mr. Merry. — Draft of a letter from Carondelet (?) to Trudeau, New Orleans, October 17, 1797, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 131. The whole letter is as follows:

“Por Carta 30 de Agosto, avisa Vm. al Teniente Coronel Dn Carlos Howard el arrivo a esa de Mr Merry sobrino del difunto Dn Andres Todd, la inquietud del Canada y la construccion en Tesselon sobre el Lago Ontario (Huron?) de un fuerte por los Yngleses; y finalmente de la fidelidad con que se portan los Yndios del alto Misisipi, no permitiendo se introduzca alguno contra nuestros

I was at New York this Spring and sent from thence a Gentleman to New Orleans to attend to my Nephews Interest there and to assist Mr. Clark¹⁰¹ & Doct^r: Don His Executors there. I took the Liberty of writing his Excellency the Baron de Carondelet representing that as it was under his Auspices and his particular incouragement & protection that our Nephew embarked so largely in Business in Louisiane and was Naturalized a Spanish Subject, I had no doubt that his Excell^o would continue the same protection to his Representatives, the property my Nephew had at New Orleans, (independent of what is owing for Goods Taken from this Post) exceded £40,000 pounds Sterling, and to support my Nephews Credit in this business I became his Security. —

I have the honor to be with Respect Sir

Your much obliged Debt Sir

Isaac Todd¹⁰² (rubric)

Zenon Trudeau Esquire.

DOCUMENT XIII

LETTER FROM TRUDEAU TO CARONDELET

JULY 21, 1797

No. 191.

I herewith enclose to Your Excellency a letter written in English¹⁰³ (and its translation) which was written to me by Don Isaac Todd, uncle of Don Andres Todd, who passed away in New Orleans.¹⁰⁴ Your Excellency, with his Majes-

Establecimientos; conviene mantenerlos en estas buenas disposiciones a Vm. las pocas facultades y fuerzas con que se halla."

¹⁰¹ Daniel Clark was a merchant in New Orleans with whom the merchants of St. Louis dealt.

¹⁰² Isaac Todd of Todd, McGill and Company. There are many references to this company in Davidson's *North West Company* (Berkeley, 1918); Quaife's *John Askin Papers*; Stevens's *Northwest Fur Trade*; the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*; etc.

¹⁰³ The preceding document.

¹⁰⁴ Andrew Todd died from an attack of yellow fever in the fall of 1796.

ty's approval, had conceded to him the exclusive trade with the Indians of the Upper Mississippi, including the rivers of the western shore above the Missouri.¹⁰⁵ It appears that this merchant, upon the advices which I have received from Mr. Swan,¹⁰⁶ representative of the deceased, was under instructions from Your Excellency to make no variations in the trade but rather to facilitate it, and that he has the intention of sending a nephew¹⁰⁷ of the aforementioned deceased, who has already been in St. Louis, to continue the management and government of the said interests.

It would appear to me that in order to carry out the ideas of Your Excellency, I should offer no support to his pretension[s], but as it is my wish to be governed in accordance with present conditions, which every moment change in aspect, I place before Your Excellency that which occurs to me, so that you may prescribe to me whatever new instructions there may be bearing on the matter.

¹⁰⁵ See the letter from Todd to Carondelet, New Orleans, December 18, 1796, Annex no. 6 to Carondelet's letter no. 65, *reservado*, to El Principe de la Paz New Orleans, January 8, 1796, Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Seccion, Papeles de Estado, legajo 3900. This may also be found in Archivo General de Indias (Seville), Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 87-1-24. A draft of this letter, written in English, may be found in the same depository, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2364. See also the letter from Todd to Carondelet, New Orleans, December 21, 1795, and Carondelet's remarks in the margin, Annex no. 1 to Carondelet's letter no. 65, *reservado*, to El Principe de La Paz, New Orleans, January 8, 1796, Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Seccion, in Papeles de Estado, legajo 3900. The letter referred to may also be found in the Archivo General de Indias (Seville), in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 129, and in Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 87-1-24. See also Carondelet's letters numbers 65 and 66, *reservado*, both dated New Orleans, January 8, 1796, in Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Seccion, Papeles de Estado, legajo 3900. The official decree of the Consejo de Estado is in Minuta del Acta del Supremo Consejo de Estado, for May 27, 1796, Archivo Histórico Nacional.

¹⁰⁶ Swan went to St. Louis in 1798 to attempt to recover for Todd payment of debts owing by the firm of Clamorgan, Loisel and Company. — Quaife's *John Askin Papers*, Vol. I, p. 375. Swan, however, was unsuccessful in this undertaking.

¹⁰⁷ Mr. Merry. See the preceding document.

May God preserve Your Excellency many years. St. Louis, July 21, 1797.

Zenon Trudeau (rubric)

Señor Baron de Carondelet.

DOCUMENT XIV

LETTER FROM TRUDEAU TO GAYOSO DE LEMOS
MARCH 16, 1798

No. 319.

I have received information that in the first part of next month there are to assemble at Prairie du Chien, on the upper part of the Mississippi, some three thousand men, Indians and white traders from Michilimackinac. It seems that the reason is that these traders have undertaken to make peace between the Sioux and Sautaux nations, who have not had it for some years among themselves, to the detriment of commerce. I do not think that the government of Canada nor that of Michilimackinac have any part in the purpose of those merchants, who are themselves alone seeking good harmony among all the Indians for the betterment of trade.

The assembling of so many people on a river which can facilitate their coming down to St. Louis in less than eight days, and the bad inclination of the traders, who might influence the Indians to make another such invasion as that which they made in the year 1780,¹⁰⁸ has induced me to commission the galley called *La Flecha*¹⁰⁹ to go up the river, to

¹⁰⁸ For an account of the attack upon St. Louis on May 26, 1780, see Nasatir's *Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country during the American Revolution 1779-1783* in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXI, October, 1928.

¹⁰⁹ The galeota *La Flecha* was a small gun-boat which in 1794 was commanded by Francois Langlois. — Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 87, 93. In the trip here referred to, which was undertaken in 1798, it was commanded by Bernardo Molina. — See Cailhol's *Diary*, Document XV. See also Houck's *History of Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 142, 343, and *Diary of His Majesty's Galleot, La Fleche*, January 5-March 25, 1793, commanded by Pedro Rousseau, in Papeles de Cuba and also (unsigned) in the Bancroft Library. In

keep guard as well as to inquire what is happening and report on it. I have also established a detachment of voluntary militia opposite the mouth of the Illinois River. This detachment will be without pay, but I could do no less than furnish them with the rations which they consume.

They will be maintained as has been done since the beginning of the war, confiding in the Sauquias and Puteatamia¹¹⁰ nations. Since these are the most numerous and influential over the others, it is necessary to observe their inclinations and movements, and the reports and communications which they hold with the English and Americans. I am endeavoring on the other hand to treat these same nations with the greatest attention possible, without having, up to now, increased the customary annual present, except for some powder, for the scarcity of this in the trade has not permitted me to economize on it. I hope Your Lordship will approve of this, in view of the circumstances.

God keep Your Lordship many years. St. Louis, March 16, 1798.

Zenon Trudeau

Señor Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos.

DOCUMENT XV

Journal¹¹¹ of the Trip made by me, Francois Cailhol,¹¹²

1794 it was also under the orders of Domingo Bouligney. — Letter from Carondelet to Luis de Las Casas, New Orleans, March 20, 1794, in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1896, Vol. I, pp. 1049-1051. In 1799 it was commanded by Santiago de St. Vrain. — Letter from St. Vrain to De Lassus, St. Louis, November 17, 1799, in *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. VI, p. 806.

¹¹⁰ Potawatomi.

¹¹¹ This *Journal* is horribly penned. It is probably the worst written of all the documents written in French in the Louisiana Collection in the Bancroft Library. Cailhol's grammar and spelling are so poor that his statements are necessarily obscure. It is not always easy to figure out whom he means when he says "he" or "they", or what he means when he says "it".

¹¹² The editor has been able to discover but very little information concerning the writer of this *Journal*. He is mentioned in Houck's *History of Mis-*

Interpreter and Experienced Pilot on board His Majesty's [ship] *La Fleche*, Commanded by Don Bernardo Molina,¹¹³ which left St. Louis des Illinois on March 22, 1798 to go to Prairie du Chien.

[March]

25

On this day a pirogue loaded with furs and belonging to M. St Cirre¹¹⁴ a merchant of St. Louis, passed us. They had the passport of M. Jeneau and said that they were coming from the vicinity (perq.) of the Illinois River in the district of the United States.

April

8

On this day we met Louis Honnorest, Father and Son,¹¹⁵ as well as old Dorrion¹¹⁶ and his nephew Collte, Denis

souri, Vol. II, pp. 53, 63. His claim for two thousand acres of land nearly opposite Prairie du Chien was rejected by the United States.—*American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. III, p. 364. He was "patron" of Andrew Todd's bercha [small boat] called *El Success* in 1796.—Draft of a letter from Zenon Trudeau, New Orleans, November 8, 1796, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 261.

¹¹³ Bernardo Molina was commander of His Majesty's galliots. He had been patrolling the Mississippi.—Letter from Trudeau to Gayoso de Lemos, Document XIV. See also Houck's *History of Missouri* and Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*. In 1797, Molina commanded the *Victoria*.

¹¹⁴ St. Cyr. See Billon's *Annals of St. Louis under French and Spanish Domination*, p. 456.

¹¹⁵ Louis Honoré, Jr., and Sr. See note 41 above and Billon's *Annals of St. Louis under French and Spanish Domination*, pp. 422, 423.

¹¹⁶ Pierre Dorion is mentioned in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 370, 502. He probably is the same Dorion who acted as an interpreter for Lewis and Clark.—See the many references to Dorion in Thwaites's *The Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, consult index.

There was a Dorion who was a trader in Iowa. See his two letters written from Rapide du Moin, August 4 and 18, 1799, manuscripts in possession of the Missouri Historical Society, Pierre Chouteau Collection.

Julien and La Liberté, a prisoner, on their bark canoe loaded with furs. The Sac Indian (Le Sac), with Louis Honnorest, and the Sioux aroused by Dorrien with a thousand lies to tell the Commandant of St. Louis, all of them drunk, told us a thousand wild tales. Louis Honnorest even told me to beg the commandant to wait until tomorrow morning to tell him the news because they were all too drunk. Three hours after midnight the commandant sent me to awaken him to find out whether the Indians were saying the same thing as the day before. All the Sac and Sioux state that it is [was] Louis Honnorest and Dorrien who caused them to tell that story.

[April]

9

When we arrived at the river of the Ayvoa [Iowa] at seven o'clock in the morning [we saw] a bark canoe coming out from that river. When they saw our flag they ran away. The commandant [observing them] told me to call them [but] they kept on running away. They were obliged to shoot at it [canoe] because of its contempt for our flag. Old Marchesseau¹¹⁷ undertook to row after them and they were glad because they did not listen to him. The Commandant asked him for his passport and he said that he had forgotten it. The Commandant let him go because two soldiers and I knew him; he asked him why he had run away, and he answered that he had done so because of the bad news that Louis Honnorest had caused to be circulated. The commandant asked him what the news was and he replied that three galleys were coming and that he did not

¹¹⁷ There are several references to Marchesseau in Perrault's *Narrative of Travels and Adventures, 1783-1830*, in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XXXVII; Alvord's *Kaskaskia Records*, pp. cxlvii, 183; and also in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vols. X, XI, XX, XXIII.

know whether it was for war or peace. The same day all the merchants from the other side in the district of the United States appeared before the Commandant with their passports. "My Spanish Commandant, we are well pleased at your arrival, because now we may find out whether we are at war or at peace. Louis Honnorest has aroused our spirit by inciting the nations [Indians] to pillage us. Then the Commandant said to them, "Why don't you give me your statements in writing so that I may send them to the Commandant at St Louis and let him settle this whole affair".

[April]

13

At the said Iowa River there appeared ten Sac and Renard Chiefs. They requested that a council be held. "My father, what are we to make of our St. Louis Father's sending us Louis Honnorest to bring dissension among us? He has promised us many things and we don't believe him. He has converted three Indians of the Sac nation, all great drunkards like himself, and for the purpose of making them tell stories like the ones he made us believe".

May

1

Some merchants and inhabitants presented themselves with all possible courtesy and showed their passports from the United States. With great respect they offered their services to do everything that might be within their power, since the province of the United States and Spain acted as one (or were but one)"; and the arrival of His Majesty's [ship] *LaFleche*, commanded by Don Bernardo Molina has flattered us greatly, and has displaced by peace and tranquility the troubles created by the above-mentioned Louis Honnorest.

[May]

3

On this day twelve Sioux Chiefs appeared and begged me to tell the commandant to listen to them, saying, "My Spanish Father, we hear about what Louis Honnocest is doing, then today we see the exact opposite. We say that three galleys are coming to destroy us utterly. We beg you, My Father, to urge the Commandant-General to prevent men with characters like Louis Honnocest's from going [coming] here and worrying us, because we were very much disturbed, and scared to death but now, at present, we are at rest because of your arrival. Our Father, we say to you that our Great Chief died two years ago and (that) we have been living like children who are without a father to guide them always on the good road of our Spanish Father, just as in the Province of the United States.

[May]

7

The Sioux Chief asked the commandant to hold a council with the Faulle-Avoines and Renards because of the differences that existed among them. Monsieur le Commandant reestablished peace and tranquility among them through his speech to them when he gathered them together.

I take oath before God and on the Cross that this Journal is correct and truthful in everything that is stated above. Done on board His Majesty's [ship] La Fleche, this twenty-sixth [or twentieth?] day of May, 1798, Francois Cailhol (rubric), interpreter for the King.

[May]

27

Today there arrived seven Indians from the Sac Nation who said that there had arrived at St. Louis twenty Sau-teux [Chippewa] on their way to war in the lower part of

the Mississippi, and as there are Sioux there the Commandant had his men arm themselves and made them cross for fear that they would [be] scared to death.¹¹⁸

Francois Cailhol
(rubric)

[May]

28

Today there appeared the Sac Chief (Le Cef Sac) to hold a council to thank the Commandant for the peace that now existed in [or he restored to] the Upper Mississippi among the other Indian nations.

Francois Cailhol (rubric)

[May]

29

Today they summoned us into council and informed us that they were very much surprised at seeing so brave a commandant (and one who with) so few resources [men] had defied all the savage nations without fear and who had quieted them all.

Francois Cailhol (rubric)

DOCUMENT XVI

No. 12

By the last information which has come to my knowledge from the Ohio I have learned certainly that galleys are being constructed at Pittsburgh; that two have been launched and seven more are being built, and that for this purpose a number of carpenters have been brought from Philadelphia. The gazettes always speak of the disturbances between the French and the United States, which, it seems, are preparing for war, which is regarded as inevitable.

¹¹⁸ "Est comme ilia yont Des la nations Sioux ets poura Sors Le Commandant a faite prandre Les Arme est ille a fait Traverser par la peur que le commandant avoit quil nenfasse Dans Ce Cullote."

I do not expect any news from Canada until the 15th of the coming month. The Indians are restless, and visit me frequently under the pretext of having news. They say they are always being influenced against us. The spy whom I have on the Yllinois River writes the same thing to me. I enclose his letter, as well as one from Don Luis Lorimier, with a resumé of the speech of the commander of the post of Vincennes, whose discourse has been repeated to me by the Loup Indians in the same terms.

God keep Your Lordship many years.

San Luis, July 12, 1798.

Zenon Trudeau (rubric)

Señor Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos.

THE JOURNAL AND LETTERS OF CORPORAL WILLIAM O. GULICK

[This is the second installment of *The Journal and Letters of Corporal William O. Gulick*. The introduction and the first installment of the journal and letters were printed in the April number of THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS. A third installment will appear in the October issue. The letters and journal were edited by Max Hendricks Guyer. The original spelling, capitalization, and punctuation have been retained.—THE EDITOR.]

Wednesday Feb. 19th 1862

Since yesterday morning The (second) 2nd Mich. Cavl. left camp & a field battery came in. had quite a storm of rain & hail continued stormy all day. I set up with my patients as usual all getting better. The Ohio 39th Inft. came in camp. also 2 Co.s of the 4th U. S. Cavl came in from Sedalia.

Thursday Feb. 20th 1862

I am relieved from nursing the boys are able to take care of them selves. The 27th Ohio came in from the west[.] Col. Warren was released from arrest & took command of Battalion. He treated all hands with beer, & presented Sergt Will⁸¹ with bowie knife.

Saturday February 22nd/62

I was relieved from guard at 7 o'clock A. M. to go to the City, where a great celebration was to take place in honor of Washingtons birth day. With Our Battalion in the *lead* we started for the City at Eight o'cl'k A. M. On arriving there I beheld the grandest sight I ever saw. The City was draped in red white & blue The different associations were well represented & all joined our prosession making it full

⁸¹ Probably Cyrus H. Wills of Mount Pleasant, 2nd Sergeant in Company E.

seven miles in length. Ft. Donelson was represented by a large canvass fort on a large wagon drawn by six horses. A secesh flag was trailing in the centre with the stars & stripes floating proudly above it.

Many other things were there of interest. Came home about four oclock P. M. very tired. Nine hours in saddle.

Friday Feb. 28th 1862

Since the last date the following regts. have come in & left camp

The 39th Ohio inft. 3rd Mich Cavl. 9th Ill Cavl. 2nd Iowa Battery & others — left us. While the 18th Mo. inft. 13th Ill. Cavl 5th Ill Cavl. & 4th Iowa Cavl came in. I have done my drilling stood my regular guard & ate my rations as usual. by the way we have Ten days rations on hand now. To day we have mustered for pay. It is rumored that we are going down the river hope it may prove true with the exception of one rain weather has been fine. Our *sutler* also set up in camp yesterday.

Monday March 3rd 1862

Saturday & sunday were quite dull as both were attended with Thunder showers. I was on Patroll guard yesterday. An old friend & relative from Mo. called to see me Sam. Shibley his business called him away soon, but I had a pleasant chat. Cold & disagreeable to day.

Tuesday March 4th 1862

Was much warmer. About noon we recd orders to be ready to march to the Pacific Depot time enough to take the 8 oclock A. M. train. Every thing was hurry scurry untill late a[t] night packing for a final leave of the much hated barracks. An accidental shot occurred from an old stockless musket used as a poker. the ball passed through two parti-

tion[s] and a crowd of soldiers, cutting some of their clothes. The last thing in the evening the order to march in the morn was countermanded with Our Co. & L. we were to remain untill Thursday morn. this a slight disappointment — Wednesday we done little but talk about our expect march. Fred sent a box home my over shoes went with it. late at night fresh orders came for us to wait untill Friday morning before we started Getting used to humbugh. still most talkin we are doomed to remain in the barracks during the war.

Saturday March 8th 1862

This morning after being put off for several days concerning our move we are about to start.

We marched to the Pacific depot via Gen Hallecks Head gr. Noon found us all aboard the cars, but to make the day tedious we remained on the standing cars until Five oclock expecting to start at any moment

We were stowed & jamed in grain cars Our train consisted of Thirty box cars & two engines

Was rather tedious as well as interesting to set up all night passed through Jefferson City about 3 ocl'k A. M. of Sunday. could see but little but the country is very rough We arrived at Sedalia Sunday March 9th about 2 o'clock P. M. was more pleasant today passed through several prairie towns quite fine among which were Tipton California Lamine, (at river of same name where our troops had formerly thrown up fortifications as a protection against Gen. Prices forces.) & lastly Otterville. We experienced quite a heavy rain storm on top of cars. also had quite an interesting time pitching tents in the rain We camped near Sedalia Depot, & not far from the 8th Iowa inf't. As I have a great many friends & acquaintences in this Regt. I took supper & enjoyed my self much with them

Monday March 10th 1862

Our battalion was occupied in unpacking & arrangement of our things and camp in general passed a very pleasant day with my friends of the 8th Ia.

I find Sedalia is quite a fine business town & the country here is a fine one for so much prairie

Tuesday March 11th 1862

Weather fine. a detail of Co. B. come down from Lexington after rations I learned Cousin Ike was *right side up with care*. We came out on dressparade with the 2nd battalion of our Regt. Our Capt. and 12 men from our Co. were sent out on scout I know not where.

The 8th Ia. left here for Tenn. — via St. Louis I regret we could not have remained longer together just night an order came for 50 men from each Co. of our batt. to be ready for a scout tomorrow at Ten oclock A. M.

Wednesday March 12th 1862

We were ready by ten oclock but did not get off until noon. We marched until Seven oclock P. M. & camped on a small stream near a union man by the name of Baker of three miles South west of Belmont⁸² a small secesh town as we came through nothing but women and children were to be seen. All the women said they were widows consequently the boys prefixed "*widow*" to the town making it (very appropriately) *Widow Belmont*

Our party & train consists of Two hundred 3rd Batl 1st Ia. Cavl. One Co. of the 25th Ind. [Indiana] A section of Artillery (Two pieces) & Ten baggage wagons one of which broke down during the day. We have marched about 20

⁸² Evidently in west central Missouri, to which Gulick's company was being taken. It was not found on the map. It should not be confused with the Belmont in southeastern Missouri, the scene of the "Battle of Belmont" previously mentioned.

miles over a very fine high rolling prairie, in county of Pettis.

Thursday March 13th 1862

Our first nights camp was very pleasant Lt. Barnes & a small party were out scouting & brought in a rebel Capt. & some guns before day. We took up our "line of march" quite early. the country has been much rougher one more infested by guerrillas or rebel scouts. We passed a small town about noon which was very much deserted & showed the affects of secesh. I formed about the same opinion of the town I had of the traitor after whom it was named, *Calhoun*⁸³ During the P. M. we saw some of the rebel Jackmans⁸⁴ scouts I was one of the Twelve to give them a chase. they fled at our approach gained the timber and thus escaped. About Four oclock we surprised the Town of Clinton (Co. seat of Henry Co.) & captured ten or twelve prisoners. Encamped in the town, sent out pickets & about 9 oclock it commenced to rain fast & continued all night.

Friday March 14th/62

Wet & stormy all day. was nearly drowned out our tents were very much crowded I came on prison guard during the day a number were released by taking the oath of allegiance & giving bonds for their behavior. This town of Clinton has been quit[e] a flourishing country place, situated in a fine locality. The citizens are considerably tainted with secession Although it is against orders the boys will *jay hawk*.⁸⁵ pigs & chickens suffer as much or more than rebels.

⁸³ A small town in Henry County, Missouri, a few miles northeast of Clinton.

⁸⁴ Jackman was chiefly notorious for his leadership in Confederate guerrilla tactics. When beaten in the open field, as they were most of the time on the Missouri front, the Confederates resorted to "bushwhacking" or guerrilla tactics — dodging open combat and sniping at the enemy from ambush.

⁸⁵ "Jayhawk" is used with various meanings. Here it seems to signify

Saturday March 15th 1862

Came of[f] guard this morning after standing sixteen hours of the Twenty four The weather rather better.

I went out riding as far as Grand river, Three miles. Our troops took possession of a grist mill, kept it running for our special use "*corn dodger*" are plentiful. On searching a house some of the boys found a secesh flag To night quite an excitement prevails as it is reported from good authority that Jackman with a force superior to ours is preparing to attack us. A messenger (Billie Potts) was sent with dispatches to Sedalia. We understand for reinforcements. In the night the excitement increased when the "*grand rounds*" of the Officers of guard, did not find the pickets (said pickets however were all right)

This P.M. we moved from our tents to vacant buildings. Our Co. live in style in a fine house owned by a rich secesh fronting the Court house

Sunday March 16th 1862

I attended Sabbath school this P.M. for the first time since I left home indeed it seemed like home to be there We have had several scouting parties out brought in some prisoners & arms, Our Lt. Crosby with a party burned a bridge over river to prevent the rebels from crossing. I was detailed for picket guard Three of us *stood*, more than a mile from town all night A very fair time for the first. We halted & charged on two or three cows that made their appearance.

Monday, March 17th/62

A very fine day this. return scouts bring more prisoners & arms. The most of them get clear by taking the oath of foraging illegally for food. "*Jayhawkers*", as Gulick uses the term in his letters, was a nickname for the Confederates, as "*rebs*", "*secesh*", etc. Strangely enough this very name "*Jayhawkers*" has for many years been applied to the inhabitants of the loyal Union State of Kansas.

allegiance. Our teams are drawing in corn & other confiscated property Forty head of sheep were brought in guess we'll have some mutton The citizens are just crowding town to take the oath. Several refuge[e] families came in. Also Co. I our Regt. came in from Sedalia, brought our mail I recd a letter from home
I was out after forage. by the way *I expect to have roast Goos for dinner tomorrow.*

Tuesday March 18th/62

It was quite rainy I was cook most of the day but volunteered to go on a scout to start at Five oclock P.M. The remainder of our Battalion came in with Col. commanding Our party of One hundred were in the saddle at the appointed time. marched Two hours. then stoped to feed an hour during which time it commenced raining & continued during our whole scout. We learned our business was to surprise a rebel camp We arrived at said place about Three oclock A.M. of Wednesday, 19th/62 but the rebs. had left, like *good fellows* leaving us their camp with out a fight as we expected. We now made it our business to search secesh houses and arrest suspicious persons (*men*) We routed the people with a tremendous scare at three houses before day light. Made them get breakfast for us, which they did reluctantly. We searched a number more houses that contained in all Thre doz. Cans & Two kegs powder Eleven guns (besides apples & sweet meats in abundance) We took Five men prisoners Returned to camp wet, Cold, tired & hungry, just night after a march of 60 miles all the time in the rain When we returned we learned that Capt. Ankeny of our Co. with a party of Twenty had a skirmish with the rebels to day near Leesville⁸⁶ resulting in

⁸⁶ Such a skirmish did take place at Leesville on the night of March 18, 1862. Brigadier General James Totten's report (*Official Records: War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. VIII, p. 341) confirms the statement that ten

the rout of the rebel party capturing Ten prisoners several gun wounded several & killed Two of the rebs. Our loss Four wounded none seriously.

Friday March 21st 1862

I was on Bridge guard over Grand river nearly Three miles from town, was cold & tedious. quite a snow storm during the night a Co. of state troops "mounted rifles" came in. Muddy but prospects of better weather now clearing up to night

Sunday March 23rd 1862

Nothing of note has occurred for the past two days. scouting parties go & come. More troops arrived. Attended sabbath school Was detailed for a scout tomorrow

Monday March 24th/62

We were mounted & prepared to march at Eight oclock. The roads were very muddy. We marched S.W. crossing Grand river at bridge. took dinner at a secesh ministers. (No body home except women. It is a noticeable fact that the men of this country *especially secesh* are always hid out in the brush, while their women protest they are *dead*, or gone to *war* — or the devel or some where else away from home.) (Many times we find them skulking about giving the women the lie.)

We took a prisoner but afterward released him retaining his horse

Our rout lay over a prairie country Our officers kept lighting fires. I soon discovered they were signals to the other parties that had went out yesterday

prisoners were taken, also seven guns, ten horses, and seven saddles. "Captain Ankeny", says General Totten, "behaved with great spirit and did himself high credit." Leesville is in Henry County, twelve miles east of Clinton.

After a march of nearly twenty miles we camped at Rickeys store a strong rebel place. We came prepared to live on the country in earnest as we had nothing to cook with. Our meat we roasted on forked sticks over the flames while our "*corn dodger*" of unsifted meal was baked on a shingle inclined to the fire. I was among the guards for the night was posted out half mile nothing occurred. pretty cold.

Tuesday March 25th/62

We took up our line of march for Monegua Spg.⁸⁷ but did not arrive there with out some skirmishing as we met a gang of Sixty or thereabouts. We killed one wounded several & took Thirty prisoners. With the small loss of *Two men wounded*. Our rout was over a rough hilly country We stoped at the Sulphur springs only a short time & passed on through the Town of Monegua some two miles & camped for the night after a march of fifteen or Twenty miles. Several small scouting parties were out Maj. Gowers⁸⁸ command came up with us. We fared pretty rough in the grub line. had pork & mush for supper still we enjoyed it in the first degree

Wednesday Mar. 26th/62

We moved but a short distance but had several parties out took a number prisoners & searched a great many houses found arms & powder in nearly every one. Generally the boys appropriated something to them selves. Al-

⁸⁷ Monegaw Springs, also called Monagan, is on the Osage River in St. Clair County, Missouri, about ten miles west of Osceola, the county seat.

⁸⁸ Major Gower had started as Captain of Company F. He was promoted to Major on September 1, 1861. On August 26, 1862, he succeeded Fitz Henry Warren as Colonel of the First Iowa Cavalry when Warren was promoted to Brigadier General. Colonel Gower resigned from the service on August 20, 1863.

though it was not *right* the people had no right to expect anything *better*. We stoped for dinner at an old secesh had him get it for us in his yard — *done in good style*, so we came back & stoped all night with him, during the day I was on the Osage river above Osceola & within one half mile of the town, but the Col. stoped us from going in. he went ahead himself with an escort. I was quite disappointed as I wanted to see the Old head qr. of Gen. Price

Thursday March 27th/62

This morning the Col. with all the men except 60 from Our Co. (M) & K. returned to camp at Clinton. They took with them about forty prisoners I was quite elated when we were left with Lt. Col. Moss. He gave us many more privileges than we had enjoyed before. We were divided up in several parties. The one I was with went down to the Osage river below Osceola to burn a ferry. before reaching the place we discovered five rebel guerrillas gave them chase. When to the river the boat was gone so they swam their horses & thus escaped. When on the opposite side they were impudent enough to fire on us. We only had two or three rifles, but that was enough to bring down a horse for them after which they took a sudden departure.

We took dinner at a secesh place on *ham & honey*. about night all our parties arrived at a place previously designated by the Col. We had twelve prisoners boys give laughable accounts of capturing them

As usual only women & children were at this place of encampment we naturally helped our selves to all we wanted in the line of eatibles. Weather fare

Friday March 28th/62

We prepared to move back to Clinton sent out scouts to meet at Grand river ford. We routed a number Bush

whackers Myself & Potts gave two a three mile chase. They were $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in advance of us & gained the timber when we were within thirty rods of them & effected their escape. They certainly earned it, as they striped themselves & *saddle*, of everything that tended to impede their speed or application of the whip. I was riding a borrowed horse I know if I had mine I could have overtaken them

We all met at the ford & soon arrived in Clinton after a five day scout during which time we captured 65 prisoners Guns & amunition in abundanc. The train from Sedalia had arrived provisions plenty.

Clinton, Mo, March 29th, 1862
Co. M 1st Ia. Cavl.

Dear Bro. & Sister

Although I have not heard from home since I wrote, I thought as I had time, I would drop a few lines, that you might know I was *still* in *existence* in this land of *Danger & Trouble* (as I presume you call it) I have just returned from a five days Scout, and as it has been a pleasant trip to me, I suppose it would be interesting to you to hear something concerning it I believe I wrote that the country between Grand & Osage rivers was infested with a band of Secesh Jayhawkers Headed by the Desparado *Jackman*, & supposed to be three hundred strong. It is the object of our Col. to scatter & rid the country of them, & for this purpose a large Scout of Two hundred was sent over there, 25 from six Cos of the Ia first & 50 Home Guards or State Malicia [(] A scout of 50 men had been sent out the day before, Under Maj. Gower,) The first day out we could only now & then get a glimpse at some of them. We camped at Rickeys Store a noted secesh Rendesvous, (But they had been routed by the 8th Ia.) some time before, so there was nothing for us to do but to help our selves to *Meal* and

Bacon for supper. We had brought nothing with us except half rations of Coffee & Sugar as nearly every thing had run out at the post, (Clinton) There was so many of us that after scouring the neighborhood we could not raise half cooking loot enough. My supper consisted of corn Dodger made of unsifted corn meal and water (without salt) & Baked on a board. Ham roasted on a stick a Tin cup of coffee I was very glad to get this for I was to go on Picket guard at seven o'clock Our fare was better after this for we would occasionally find some *suas* [squash?] or honey in the *se-cesh sellars* and we were not at all Backward neither did we care for the time of day We ate when we could get it. The weather was very fine, Quite fortunate for us as we slept on the Ground without a shelter, The second day we arrived at the Monegua Sulphur Springs, situated in the Monegua Hills with heavy timber By the way it is Shibleys point right over only *more so*. More stoney & hillie. Our march for eight miles before we reached the springs was attended with some skirmishing. A party of Jay Hawkers kept harrising us. Small scouts were sent out in the Brush and over hills after them We captured about 35 prisoners *killed one* wounded 3 or 4 & dispersed the rest, We had 3 of our men wounded one from Co K in the face one from Co F in the arm another in the body None of the wounds very serious, I did not find an occasion to fire a single shot, the Rebel mode of fighting here is to give a shot and then take to the Brush, The 3rd day we marched to the Osage above Osceola and had scouts out all through the Osage hills We brought in a number of Prisoners, and gave many a hard chase at escapes⁸⁹ It is not

⁸⁹ During these three or four days beginning March 24, 1862, the First Iowa Cavalry had done excellent work in the field to which it had been assigned. About 75 prisoners, with a considerable quantity of horses, mules, and supplies had been taken, and some progress had been made toward driving rebel guerrillas from the Clinton-Osceola neighborhood.

Bravery here that does the work it is the fast horse. Maj. Gowers command came up with us and the fourth day the Col. & whole command Except Co. M & K returned to Clinton, the remaining Fifty of us Lt. Col. Moss Comd Scoured the country down the Osage several miles below Osceola we chased 6 so close that they were forced to swim their horses across the river almost in our sight one of the boys carrying a rifle gave them a shot across the river disabeling one of their horses We captured about a doz prisoners and put with a good old secesh for the night becaus he thought we were too hard on him to feed our horses at noon.

The Fifth day we repared to Clinton But I had the hardest chase of any A squad of six took a round about way across a stream to scare up Secesh Shure enough we started two of them, Billie Potts⁹⁰ & myself took after them We were $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile behind. We run them 2 miles across the Prairie and was within Twenty rods of them (a long distance for pistol shot) When they gained the Timber, we chased them half mile through the woods but they managed to escape in the brush. We captured some of their clothing as they completely striped themselves that they might better apply the whip & spur to their poor horse,

I like hunting but this is the best game I ever saw, It is some what exciting We all met at the Grand river ford & came in Clinton Where every thing is plenty as the provision train has arrived from Sedalia⁹¹ During our scout we took 65 prisoners on; horses nearly that number of Guns of *Every kind*

⁹⁰ William C. Potts, of Company M, was a member of the original enlistment. He re-enlisted on December 27, 1863, and deserted on June 25, 1865, at Alexandria, Louisiana.—*Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. IV, p. 155.

⁹¹ The well known town of Sedalia, county seat of Pettis County, some 70 miles southeast of Kansas City, was now the main supply depot for the Union forces operating in western Missouri.

I am now ready for another scout and one will go soon over the Osage. Fred is out tonight in a small scout that goes to surprise some Secesh I hear another goes out tomorrow morning But I am waiting to go over the Osage for *there is the fun*,

The people here who were quite scornful at our arrival are becoming reconciled to the Soldiers. The people about the country are coming in every day to take the oath⁹² By the way I will send you the oath they take the Blanks are printed at *Uncles Sams* Office there in town. I will also send you a paper issued by the Soldiers at the same Office. We have a mail rout established from Sedalia here I hear that Co B is at Sedalia and that they are coming here I hope so for I have not seen Isaac Since he left the Barracks 5 months ago. It hardly seems 7 months since I left home. When I think of it, I think there must have been some changes in your *City* Write and give all the particulars I have shut down on all correspondents except home, So if you can tell me anything concerning my *friends abroad*, do so We get good news still from the Seat of War. I hope it will continue so.

I will close this poorly written letter with the request,
Write one write all My love & best wishes to all

Yours sincerely

Wm O. Gulick

Tuesday April 1st/62

Very wet & disagreeable. Came off[f] guard of which I was corporal (acting) was not relieved for twenty four hours Co.s B & D came in from Lexington on the Mo. river via Sedalia. Isaac was so fat I hardly knew him. Their

⁹² The oath, i. e., the oath of allegiance to the Federal government, was required by the advancing Union armies of the inhabitants of occupied regions. Especial vigilance in enforcing this oath was naturally taken in the case of those who were suspected of Confederate sympathies.

baggage wagons did not arrive so they remained with us.

During the last three days some scouting parties were out. they brought in a Doz. prisoners. Fred was a long gives a good acct. of their trip

I done my washing on Sunday. One cannot keep the days of week here as in Military matters the Sabbath is not respected

Saturday Apr. 5th/62

I was detailed to go after forage took dinner out in the country it seemed like home to sit at a table Co. A. of our regt. came in camp also Two Co.s of the 26th Inft.

During the past five days every thing passed as usual I was on guard once. Co.s C. & K. went to Osceola to establish a post there. Some scouting some prisoners taken.

Clinton, Henry Co. Mo.

Co M 1st Ia Cavl April 6/62

Dear Brother Parkes.

It is only a few days since I wrote Peter and sent you a Paper. But as we are about to make another move I take this opportunity to tell you

We expect to start tomorrow morning for Butler. The county seat of Bates Co. If you look on your map; you will see the Direction is S.W. from here & distance about 50 miles. I am glad we are going to move for I have been here long enough. I expect we will find a worse place than we leave But we have just so much work to do here in Mo. and the sooner it is done The beter it will be for us. I suppose our business is to open the way and establish posts Then the State militia will take our place They are not completely organized or Drilled yet, and it will be a long time before they can do with out the *Ia. boys*. Our whole Regt have been here except Cos G. & F. Three cos. have

gone to Osceola. Three or Four will go to Butler and the rest remain here. I suppose Co. B. will stop here, to rest and recruit[.] Isaac is here, I hardly knew him he is so fat He talks some of geting a transfer to this Co I hope he will I am going up to see him concerning it after I finish this. The weather for the last day or two has been very fine but there is indications of a storm for us to night. It has been invervably the case, rainy when we march and camp I have been out on several scouts lately, did not accomplish much except to take some cattle and forage, And occasionally some J. Hawkers. I suppose you have passed this day Sunday quite different from what I have. I have been out forageing. We have to go from Eight to twelve miles after grain & hay, hope it will be nearer at Butler. I received a letter from Bill Coffman & John Gleason this morning was glad to hear from them. I fear I shall have but little time to answer them received a letter from mother with the stamps they come very good. You must write soon hoping this will find you all well I subscribe myself

Dr. [Dear] Brother W. O. Gulick

April 7th I have just returned from scout We marched all last night and today Did not accomplish much only took four prisoners and some arms I learn the order is countermanded and we will not go to Butler at present

Yours in haste

W. O. Gulick

Adress

1st Regt Iowa Cavalry

Co M. via Sedalia, Missouri

P.S. our orderly just came in and detailed me for a scout I know not where.

[Evidently written at Clinton, Mo.

Date not given. Letter incomplete]

Letter with them. The Bridge I spoke of is across the Grand River about Three miles from Town. We Burnt one Bridge to make less guard and to prevent the Secesh from useing it When we came in this town We took posession of a gristmill and Printing office so you see we can Grind corn for C. Dodgers and Print our own News We have taken a great many Prisoners Since we have been here. I have been out in several scouts I enjoy them very much By the way I will tell you something of them. The 18th a detail came for Twenty men from our Company I volunteered for one of them We started with 80 more men just night. We learned about Ten miles from camp that our Business was to surprise a *Rebel camp*. We marched all night and to make it the more interesting it commenced to rain about nine oclock and continued to rain that night and next day Well we arrived at the Rebel camp about 3 oclock A M but they had left for regions unknown. We now made it a business to search houses and arrest suspicious characters We surrounded several houses and routed the people before day light some of them were very much frightened. We would enquire for guns they would Generaly say they had none. If then we found any They were our prisoners, at one place we took 5 Guns, 2 Kegs of P & 3 Doz cans of Powder. We also took the man Prisoner We made many of them get us Breakfast and we would help ourselves to anything we wanted such as Honey & apples We marched back to camp with 6 Prisoners (one we caught after a long chase across the Fields) 11 Guns & the Powder aforesaid

We came in camp just night hungry and tired Wet and cold. We had marched 60 miles without stoping only long enough to feed twice. The same night and day *we were out*. A squad of men about Twenty from our Battalion five from

our co were out and got in a little fight. they atacked them and after a brisk skirmish the rebels fled. Our boys killed Two of them and took nine of them prisoners. Four of our boys (not in our Co. however) were wounded not seriously. We have pretty lively times. A scout goes out tomorrow. They say we will move on south To Oseola on the Osage and about Thirty miles from here. This country and south of here is infested with a set of Jay hawkers and Bushwhackers They Drive of[f] the Union people They come in here every day striped of all they have Many of them are going with us as guides, so we will be apt to get some of them or have a chance to put some air holes through them. Many of the people are comeing in to take the oath. I have not much mercy for them dont beleive I would take many prisoners

But to change the subject I must tell you I want some Postage Stamps or else I can't write, I did not lay in as large a stock as I should when I left St. Louis, I supposed I could get them out here but they are not to be had for love or money and I have give away to those that could not get them at least half Doz. We have not received our pay yet But guess we will ere long. I have some change yet enough to last I guess. Did you get my overshoes at Wilkes I sent them in a box with some things Fred sent home. It seems a long time since I heard from home so you must give me all the particulars. You must write soon — I wish you would send those likenesses spoken of.

I Beleive I forgot to tell you that we were quartered in Secesh houses We have every thing we want from the Rebels as we confiscate their property The Teams are drawing in Grain all the time and a great deal of Pork and other meat Poltry and the like

The Teamster is waiting for my letter you must Direct to Co M. in care of Capt. Ankeny, 1st Regt. Ia Cavl (Via St. Louis) or Sedalia) I will be pretty sure to get it.

Our boys are mostly healthy, myself especially My love to all the folks Hoping to hear from you soon I close
P. S. I have written in haste so excuse all errors. I think I can get or capture some secesh articles that would do to send home if so I will

Your affectionate Brother
W. O. Gulick

Sunday Apr. 6th 1862

Was detailed for forage guard again Came in with plenty of corn & hay at two P. M. had been out seven miles

At Six oclock P. M. I was detailed for a scout. We were about Fifty in No. traveled all night, but did not surprise a rebel camp as expected During the night it rained some Morning come at last & found us about twenty five miles north of Clinton on the Warrensburg road We returned to camp late in the evening with Four prisoners. Fred had just [returned?] from an expedition to destroy a distillery. A place some of our boys frequented to much for their own good.

Weather unsettled — Ten from each Co. was detailed for a scout to start out immediately

Tuesday April 8th 1862

I was about camp. Co O. the Band & Col. started for Butler nearly forty miles west of this place. Two Co. of inft. went or started for the same place. Our mess concluded to have some fresh pork so I helped for the first time to kill a fine *Porker*

Wednesday Apr. 9th 1862

We took up our line of march for Pappinville.⁹³ Co.s M. &

⁹³ Papinsville, a small town in southeastern Bates County, Missouri, near the Osage River, was about 30 miles southwest from Clinton, which was still the First Iowa Cavalry's headquarters.

B. for the first time went out together. We numbered 60 men 30 from each Co. Capt. Lefingwel of Comp. B in command We marched to Johnstown (about 20 miles distant) a poor looking place indeed. Three men came in and gave themselves up as deserters from *Price*.

Thursday Apr. 10th/62

Our march was a little south of West. passed through a small town called Pleasant Gap. took one or two prisoners after a lengthy chase. We passed the remains of a burnt building said to have been the residence of the notorious *rebel leader, Jack man*.

This P. M. arrived at Pappinsvill the most desolate place I ever saw The town had been burned by the Feds. under Montgomery I counted more than Twenty five chimnis standing as monuments, in remembrance of the dreadful work

Chatfield⁹⁴ of Co. B. was taken prisoner he was the first in town, where he met a Doz. rebs. dressed in our uniform he rode up to them very carelessly when they anounced to him the fact that he was prisoner. He could make no resistance & they marched him off before our very face & eyes. We mistook them for our own troops untill it was to late to catch them.

I was on guard with others at the ferry & four jay hawkers were bold enough to fire on us from the opposite side We returned the fire & I was one of three to go over in skiff after the ferry boat. at our approach they fled. Was not very pleasant on guard still had no more trouble.

Friday Apr 11th 1862

Co.s E. & I. came in & a scout started out in search of Chatfield as well as the rebs. We went down to the lower

⁹⁴ Marcus M. Chatfield of Lyons, Iowa, enlisted in Company B, First Iowa Cavalry, on May 10, 1861, re-enlisted on February 22, 1864, was promoted to

ferry (on Osage river) where we forded the stream pretty deap, took a tramp ten miles over the river when we returned near night, at the upper ford, near Pappinsville, small horses had to swim. When in camp found the rebels had released Chatfield after taking every thing he had, even traded boots with him

It had rained pretty hard all day & with the scanty supply of tents we have with us the prospects for shelter to night is rather dubious

Saturday Apr. 12th/62

We took up our line of march for Butler quite early. Still raining consequently very muddy The distance 20 miles — When about half way we run in a nest of Guerrillas we took nine prisoners after some chasing & shooting. More scare than any thing else, as none of the rebs as well as our selves were hurt.

We arrived at Butler about four o'clock P.M. This has been a fine flourishing prairie town, before it was burned by Montgomery & Lane⁹⁵ Most of the secesh were obliged to leave after this but still enough lurk around to harrass the Union people.

Sunday Apr. 13th 1862

Started for Clinton distance forty miles was detained at Johnstown Two hours arrived at Clinton just after dark our wagons 10 miles behind

corporal later in that year, and was not mustered out until Feburary 15, 1866.

⁹⁵ The burning of Butler and Papinsville, mentioned by Gulick, was only part of a general policy of "terrorization by devastation" pursued by the Union army in this part of Missouri. It was partially justified by the fact that this region was the most violent hotbed of secessionist sentiment in the State. There are frequent references in Gulick's letters to important towns of this region being strongly "secesh".

Monday Apr. 14th 1862

Snug in camp after a five days scout during which time we took Twenty prisoners, & all the time the weather unfavorable. To day it is raining. I recd. two letters from home — ans both

Just night was detailed on a fifteen days scout expect something will be done as they take Fifty men from each of the Two Co.s here M. & B.

Tuesday Apr. 15th 1862

This morning we prepared for a Fifteen day scout Were on the way by ten o'clock. Marched thirty miles Camped in a Seceshes meadow plenty of hay & Corn We are 9 miles from Pappinsville & 5 from the Osage river. We no. 100 men Capt. Lefingwell of B Co. in command

Weather fine to day roads not very good

Wednesday Apr. 16th 1862

I was on guard last night. At two oclock a scout went out to surprise Pappinsvill. At the same time a party of twenty went down to take possession of the ferries to prevent the rebs from getting away. We all met at the lower ferry soon after noon. The results of the different parties scouting was the capture of four or five prisoners. A party of Fifty was sent down the river to rout a band of Guerillas but they did not find them.

Thursday Apr. 17th

A party of Fifty including myself, took an early start to make a detour from the main road leading to Eaton⁹⁶ As we had to ferry the river was nearly nine oclock before we got farely on the road. Before this time however it com-

⁹⁶ Eatons is a small village near Deepwater, in Henry County. A later reference to "Eatonville" probably means the same town.

menced raining very hard & continued all day. but never daunted we kept on our way chasing Jay hawkers where ever found got two notorious characters before noon by them learned where they had their head quarters. We procured a guide & made for the place had to cross clear creek now very high. Most of the horses had to swim. When in sight of the building (which was in a lonely by-place) we charged up surrounding it. Two men run from the place. We caught them they proved to be leaders of a band that was doing much mischief in this vicinity True enough the place had been Head qr. for them. Guns, pistols & amunition were found here. Capt. concluded to remain all night, I was on guard

Two young ladies, better have said femails claimed they knew me, as one John Post & wished me to redeem a promise made at Monegua It made a good joke as I was ignorant of the whole affair

Friday Apr. 18th 1862

We marched about four miles to Eatonville had to cross one stream that in its swollen & turbid state had to swim (which we did without accident)

From this place three of our boys who were in advance chased as many Jay-hawkers to Clintonville four miles when the J. H. joined thirty more of their party & returned the chase nearly back. We all now went forward double quick but the party I was with got on the wrong road & came back to Eatonville where we remained all day. the party that did get after them followed all day but could not overhaul them, so returned to this place after a ride of fifty miles for *nex*.

We camped here for the night Mad[e] the towns people get us grub as we were out not being with our wagons Weather cold & wet.

Saturday Apr. 19th 1862

We were about camp all day the creek being to high to cross our wagons are on the opposite side consequently we were with out grub. had to depend on the citizens for supplies. they being mostly secesh was not very liberal but fortunately we were not backward in helping our selves. Cold & cloudy weather

I was on a scout at night did not accomplish much. returned at midnight

Sunday Apr 20th 1862

Although I was sleepy & tired I was hungry so got up very early to go out in the country after breakfast. Had a square meal

The boys over the creek captured five prisoners creek still to high to cross the wagons. Was about camp all day. Our horses have been without hay several days grass is not large enough for grazing yet. Season very backward

Monday Apr. 21st 1862

We prepared to leave Eatonville for Montevala⁹⁷ where we arrived after an easy march of twelve miles over a sandy prairie country on our arrival we took five or six prisoners found several guns & revolvers hid about town.

It was here that quite a fight took place between Co. K. Lt. Col. Moss commanding. and a party of rebel assasins about twenty five in no; who fired on the boys at night while quartered in a house. Two of K. boys were killed one rebel killed some wounded & several prisoners They beat a hasty retreat.

The shots in the house & barn the broken sash show plainly their cowardly work. We have one prisoner that knows

⁹⁷ Montevallo was a small inland village in southeastern Vernon County, Missouri.

something of the affair. We hung him twice to make him tell but he was too drunk to realize it. I am on prison guard
Weather fine

Friday April 25th/62

For the past three days we have been scouting every day & as often returned to this Montevalo with the same result (three or four prisoners & arms & powder)

Today a large party went out nearly one hundred Traveled South East, about twenty five miles, scoured the timber on Horse & Cedar creeks captured Eight prisoners with guns & ammunition I got a colts revolver but had to turn it over to the Q.M. We came in tired & hungry late at night after a travel of more than Fifty miles

Col. Warren with B. & I. Co.s started for Pappinsville.

This Montevala is a pretty place in quite a fine country. a strong southern party feeling exists here

Sunday April 27th

I was about camp all day the train of supplies came in Co. I. escort. We drew five days rations. It is already thirteen days since we left Clinton. But our time has been extended. A scout went out & returned with five prisoners Yesterday I was in bathing, the first this season cold bath indeed. Weather fine

Tuesday April 29th 1862

I was detailed with nine others to escort Lt. Col. Moss to Osceola⁹⁸ with dispatches We were about five hours on the road distance, forty five miles, & had to swim Sauk river to get the ferry boat before we could cross.

Osceola has been quite a flourishing town. the head of

⁹⁸ Osceola is still, as then, the county seat of St. Clair County. Its population is about 1000.

steam boat movings. But alas! it, like many other places has been razed to the ground burned & plundered. only a few desolate houses remain & only part of them occupied

Thursday May 1st 1862

Yesterday we remained with Co. B. Maj. Lefingwell⁹⁹ commanding this post (Osceola) Co K. is here, also, two Co.s of the 25th Ind. At an early hour we prepared to go to Butler, with Lt. Col. Our wagon broke down before we had gone a mile did not get it fixed until noon.

Then we met six of Co. B. coming from Butler who reported twenty Jayhawkers on the road. with reinforcements we went after them, only got one Then went on our way as before. but night over took us not half way to Butler without any thing to eat. We passed tolerable pleasant night on the prairie. Before starting this morning, I bought a horse of James Phelan The first I have owned since I have been in the service. We have been told by the officers that we can draw pay for them as ours is an independent regiment, & all with the exception of Our Co. own their own horses.

Friday May 2nd 1862

Continued our march at sunrise without breakfast arrived at Butler at noon. had a good appetite for dinner. We learned that our Capt. & two sergeants from our Co. had gone with the Col. & large scouting party to meet our boys from Montevalla

Butler, Mo. May 4th 1862

Dear Sister Emma

Yours of the 27th inst. came to hand last night It was

⁹⁹ This again refers to Captain W. E. Lefingwell's acting in the capacity of major although without the formal commission.

the first I had read from any one in Twenty days I was greatly pleased to get the news from both *Letter, & Paper* I beleive I told you I was going on a ten days scout in my last. Well it proved to be a Twenty days, instead of Ten, and then it was a mere chance that I came in, as nearly all the Scout are out yet. We were at Montevallo, Vernon Co, when I was detailed (as was nine others) for body guard for Lt. Col. Moss. Escorted him to Osceola. (Distance 45 m. Times Five hours I expected to return to Montevallo but had to come on to Butler first. On our arrival here we found that Our Company (those that remained at Clinton) had moved here. So as we found our selves home. They concluded we had better stay until the scout returns, which will be Six or Eight days. This last Scout is doing pretty well down in Vernon Cedar & Dade County there is plenty to do. We took a number notorious Jay-Hawkers, some of which will be shot. We had some slight skirmishes and a *great many hard chases* Co K, a few days in advance of us, at Montevallo, was attacked in the night Two of their men killed & Five wounded Sargeant Lyon¹⁰⁰ seriously if not fatally, But it is useless for me to tell you more about our scouts I could not tell you half, When we come to Jay-Hs houses we are pretty good J.H.s our selves. I could get any amount of Trinkets to send home if I could carry them. We Destroy a great *deal*. It is hard work to ride *Day & night two*, as we have too But still I like it pretty well, Should be better satisfied however if we could do something

¹⁰⁰ Sergeant J. A. Lyon of Company K was in later years State Auditor of Iowa. Two men, as Gulick states, were killed on the Union side in this skirmish, which occurred on April 14, 1862. He says five were wounded; the *Roster of Iowa Soldiers*, Vol. IV, p. 7, says seven. Lieutenant Colonel Moss, in command of the expedition, reported that "never did men under similar circumstances display greater gallantry than those with me that night." They were surrounded near Montevallo by double their number of rebels; in view of this disparity in numbers it is remarkable that they fought their way out with such small loss.

that we would get credit for, Our Bushwhacking dont ammount to much, The State Troops are beginning to take our places I think we cannot remain in Mo. much longer, Our Regt. Quarter masters have been mustered out the service also the Adjutants. Why it is I do not know unless to curtale the expences, There is talk of cuting the Regt down to Ten Cos I do not see the object.

The Battle at Pittsburg¹⁰¹ was very hard indeed. I could hardly rest I was so anxious to get the news A great many that I knew were killed or Taken Prisoner you name some that were on the sick list, I hope It will not be my *misfortune* to be sick if ever I should have the chance to go In Battle, I had rather be taken Prisoner or almost anything else than give people a chance to say, ("He made believe") or, ("It was a good excuse to keep out of the fight") and other conjectures every body are shure to make, I hope the boys that are Prisoners will be treated as well as we treat ours this is all we could ask, The wounded I suppose are well cared for. The Eighth Iowa & especially Co. A. seem to be very unfortunate I hope if we leave Mo. It will be to participate in the next battle, at Corinth¹⁰² or any other strong hold the Rebels may choose. Fighting in Mo. is about *played out*. The season is very backward here The few farmers that are disposed to cultivate the soil are just planting corn. I think some of the people in

¹⁰¹ The battle of Shiloh, in April, 1862, generally considered a Union victory although indecisive, is sometimes called the battle of Pittsburg Landing. Only the arrival of reënforcements under General Buell saved the Union army from a disastrous defeat in this two days battle, the largest that had yet taken place in the war. Fully 10,000 men on both sides were killed and about 20,000 wounded.—Headley's *The Great Rebellion* (The American Publishing Co., Hartford, Conn., 1866), Vol. I, p. 361. These losses were about evenly divided between the two armies.

¹⁰² Corinth, in northeastern Mississippi, was an important Confederate base toward which General Grant was pushing forward in his gradual advance on Vicksburg. Corinth was captured by the Union army, on May 30, 1862.

that part must starve if the war continues next winter But the most of them Deserve to go on *half rations* to pay for their Disloyalty I seen by your letter, the Union sentiment was bound to prevail with C. & C. [Cynthia & Charlie] I hope They may live in peace & harmony. And unlike our once Glorious Union of States may the idea of seceding from each other never enter Their minds

Sunday May 4th 1862

Yesterday was a day of rest with me Today I commenced a letter home but had to leave it to go on a scout We traveled more than twenty five miles but did not accomplish much

Monday May 5th 1862

I finished my letter & sent it

Was out after forage Corn & hay is plentiful

Tuesday May 6th 1862

I was detailed as Corporal of the picket guard We had a very easy post.

Saturday May 10th 1862

Night before last the Officers had a dance the boys from Co.s E. I. & D. & Co. A. inft. broke it up caused quite a riot. Yesterday fifteen of the boys were arrested for being engaged in the riot & sent to guard house. I was one of the guards — they done about as they pleased. Today after I had come off guard they were all sent to the Jail for greater punishment & security. Time[s] are squally[.] boys threaten to raze the Jail and thus let them out by main force if necessary.

The colt I bought I sold to Thos. Else for a trifle more than I give.

The Col with our boys came in camp from a Twenty seven day scout

Sunday May 11th 1862

Although our Co was not engaged in the affair of Thursday night they were regarded as mutineers with the rest Col. Warren to show his authority ordered all the Co.s here to come out on Dress parade which was complied with After a few sarcastic remarks he ordered C.E.I. & M. to give up their arms

This was done publicly to make the dishonor greater. It was with much reluctance that the arms were turned over We went to quarter & out of respect for our Co. officers remained quiet Co. D. was the favored Co. this time as the Col. not only gave them his compliments by way of a short speech but had the Band play the "Star Spangle Banner" This has given (already) the rise of a "Star Spangle Banner Co" in our Regt. Our Co. recd orders to march tomorrow morning at Seven oclock

Monday May 12th 1862

In accordance with orders we were ready to move at seven A.M. The Col. sent over & arrested John Husband¹⁰³ of our Co for shooting his pistol last night. Corporal Ware¹⁰⁴ was also arrested & sent to Jail for expressing his opinion, (*rather freely*) This excited the men to a great extent for he was a noble fellow. After forming in line, we were given our arms, Rifles first. Corporal Walling¹⁰⁵ re-

¹⁰³ John Husband was a private in Company M. He deserted on October 18, 1862, at Cassville, Missouri.—Lothrop's *A History of the First Regiment Iowa Cavalry Veteran Volunteers*, p. 422.

¹⁰⁴ Corporal Ware became 2nd lieutenant before completing his service. He was a resident of Clinton, Iowa, and a native of England.

¹⁰⁵ Corporal Washington I. Walling came from Mt. Vernon, Iowa, to enlist. In 1865 he was promoted to 1st sergeant. Both of these men apparently were unimpeachable in record and behavior.

fused to take a gun that did not belong to him Where upon the Col. drew his revolver threatening to shoot him in two minutes if he did not take it, he could not do other wise, but if he had not taken it The Col. would have been riddled with bullets had he shot for to my knowledge twenty shots were ready for him. Nothing more happened, but the contemptable old Col. had all his meanness remembered against him. We took up our line of march about Ten oclock Made 25 miles Camped on a small stream east of Johnstown. I was on guard the fore part of the night

Tuesday May 13th 1862

We got an early start & arrived at Clinton about noon The rear guard met a team with whiskey & got drunk

We remained here all day in readiness to march as it was supposed we would go to Oscola [Osceola]

Wednesday morning recd orders to remain here. So after arranging our camp I was cook for the day

Heavy details for guard twenty men per day. Thursday I was on bridge guard quite pleasant during the day but at night the mosquitoes make it a purgatory. Five men came in with a flag of truce bearing a dead body said to be from Pea Ridge.¹⁰⁶ We hired Rigby¹⁰⁷ to cook for us the rest of the mess give him 25cts per month each and stand his guard

¹⁰⁶ This battle is also called the battle of Elkhorn Tavern. On March 6, 7, 1862, Generals Samuel R. Curtis and Franz Sigel engaged about 30,000 Confederates in this locality, and defeated them. The Union loss in killed and wounded was fully 1000; the Confederate loss was much greater. James McIntosh and Benjamin McCulloch were killed. The chief Confederate officers at this battle were Price and Van Dorn. Missouri was now definitely lost to the Confederacy. For a biographical sketch of Samuel Ryan Curtis, the first Iowan to be made a major general, see Gallaher's *Samuel Ryan Curtis* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, July, 1927, and *The Palimpsest*, April, 1930.

¹⁰⁷ Washington H. Rigby came from Mechanicsville, Iowa, to enlist in Company M, on September 2, 1861. — *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. IV, p. 165.

Sunday May 18th 1862

Up to this nothing unusual occurred but this day brings us word from Butler that four men from that place had been killed by B. W. [Bush Whackers] after they were killed had their heads mashed.

Monday May 19th 1862

I came off[f] guard at noon. Was detailed on scout of five days. took as little as possible. The Co. consisted of twenty five from each Co.s A. G. H. & M. Capt. McQueen¹⁰⁸ of A. Co. commanding Took up our line of march¹⁰⁹ at one oclock P.M. Marched twenty five miles south of west towards Pappinsville & camped on a small stream. had the farmers in the neighborhood bring us hay & corn. Commenced raining at night I am troubled with sore mouth

Tuesday May 20th/62

Continued to rain all day When we had marched four miles discovered four men running from us gave them chase caught one, who purported to be a deserter from Price we paroled him. We marched on to Pappinsville where we met Co.s E. R.I.D. & L. all going on the same business Continues to rain. guess will have an interesting time

Wednesday May 21st 1862

This morning our pickets fired on some guerrillas coming

¹⁰⁸ Captain Alexander G. McQueen of Company A had started as 1st lieutenant, but was promoted to captain on December 11, 1861. He became 2nd major on August 21, 1863, and lieutenant colonel on September 25, 1864. He was mustered out at Austin, Texas, on February 15, 1866.—*Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. IV, p. 123.

¹⁰⁹ The transfer of Gulick's company from Clinton to Butler, 35 miles west, took place on May 19th-21st; the headquarters of the regiment had been moved to Butler on the 8th of April. Butler was now the chief Union headquarters of this district, Colonel Warren being in command there, with subsidiary posts at Osceola, under Captain Leffingwell, and at Clinton, in charge of Major Gower.

near our camp. they beat a hasty retreat. Our march lay in a westerly direction. We forded the Mariasdescygnés river at Pappinsville at noon changed our direction & traveled north Two scouting parties out but accomplished little

We camped at the head of a deep ravine where wood & water were handy. A heavy shower of wind & rain came up just as night set in but we were quite hungry & tired so ate & slept quite as well. The boys kill[ed] a Rattle snake & cooked & ate him for supper. We have orders to be ready to start at three oclock A.M. tomorrow to surprise a party of one hundred rebels We have marched our twenty miles today

Tuesday May 22nd 1862

We were up at two A.M. and started on our rout at three traveled untill day light when we posted pickets so as to entirely surround an Island two miles long & nearly as wide The Artillery from Butler came up on the opposite side to shell the Island threw about thirty shells but did not drive the rebels out Some few penetrated the island to its centre. quite against orders myself & two others were among the independents We discovered nothing however but tracks. the whol thing did not amount to much & we returned to Pappinsville this evening.

The Maraisdescygnés river had risen so the teams had to swim. Co. D.s team was washed down stream with difficulty saved.

Friday May 23rd 1862

We marched to Clinton forty miles distant after a hard & quite unsucessfull trip or attack on an Island know as No. Eleven. I recd. two letters from home which revived me much as my supper

Saturday May 24th 1862

I was detailed to go to Sedalia with an escort to bring

the Pay Master[.] Sundown found us in Sedalia quite tired after a ride of forty five miles. Good times at this place — Sunday May 25th

We returned to Clinton Came in late at night

Monday May 26th/62

Our Co. was paid four months pay Clothing bill deducted leaving us about Thirty dol. I payd my little debts & recd money part pay for horse I sold Thos. Else. Our Lt. and twenty men went to Butler as escort for Pay Master

Tuesday — we started for Butler bag & baggage marched twenty miles camped on a small stream near Johnstown. Wednesday we marched on to Butler arrived at noon learned another soldier had been shot by rebels in ambush. I bought me an other horse of Phelan he warrants the title

Saturday May 31st/62

For the past few days nothing of note has occurred — I sold my horse to Gorham. weather dry & windy I came off guard this morning. A train with small escort started for Osc[e]ola. I commenced a letter but threw it aside to volunteer with a party to rescue the train that started out this morning word just came that they were attacked by rebels near Johnstown

After riding fifteen miles under the whip & spur we met a party of Co. L. coming from Clinton who had assisted in driving the rebels to the brush wounding several We had two wounded. two or three horses killed.

Butler, Bates Co. Mo. June 1

Dear Sister Cynthia.

Your letter came to hand in due season. But as I have

been very busy ever since I could not ans. untill the present time. you will undoubtedly inquire what I have been doing, and as it will help to fill my letter I will relate the most of my doings since I last wrote from this place. The large Scout that was down in the vacinity of Greenfield Dade Co. came in. they did not accomplish much (Good reason. The Col. was along. He puts on too many military airs for scouting)

During his absence the Officers that remained in camp Except Our Lt. concluded to have a dance & the Boys from other Co.s, Broke it up to pay for having *theirs* Broke up by the Officers about a week before. There was quite a row, some stones thrown & shots fired but no body hurt. Fortunately Co. M was not engaged in it. But they had to share the disgrace of being Publicly disarmed for twenty four hours when the Col. came in. He was very unjust, and had it not been for the respect of Co. Officers there would have been mutiny indeed.¹¹⁰ Next morning we received orders to go to Clinton. On our arrival there, I was detailed for a Five days scout. We went out on the Kansas line scoured the timber all along the Marais-des-ceygnés river. Posted Pickets around an Island, and then threw shells in from the opposite side of river. It was supposed to be a Jay Hawkers rendesvous. The under brush was so thick could not find any body. Although it was against orders myself and two others went more than a mile on the Island did not discover any thing of much importance. It was a pretty hard scout as we marched nearly Forty *ms* every day and part of the time it rained. Came back to Clinton one night & next morn. was detailed to go to Sedalia to escort the Pay Master. We marched through that day & back the next. (Distance ninety miles in two days)

¹¹⁰ The same affair as that described in the journal entries of May 10-12, 1862.

I felt pretty tired and travel worn. We received our Pay next day & the two days following was occupied in marching back to Butler where we arrived the 28th May. I had some business to attend to the first day here in the way of a horse trade. The 29th the wind blew hard & the Tents as well as every thing else was a cloud of dust. Next day I was on Guard, & yesterday I just comened this letter when a messenger came from Johnstown with foaming stead stating that a small party with baggage train from here to Osceola had been attacked by a larger party of Rebel J.H. I volunteered with two others of our Co. & as many from each of the six Cos here to go to the rescue In less than twenty minutes we were on the road Our Horses were let out to Fourteen miles an hour all hands expecting for once to have some fighting. But it turned out as usual we were to late, for about Fifteen minutes after the engagment commenced a party of Co. L. came up They were on their way from Clinton to this place. The rebels took to the brush.

Our boys followed them but the brush is so thick at this season of the year that they all escaped. One or two of there men were wounded. Our loss was one horse killed. One man shot in the foot. One through his coat collar, another through the hat

The contemptable J. H.s have the advantage of us now. & they use it too. It is folly to even *attempt*. to hunt them in the brush. They lay in ambush & shoot a Soldier where ever they can. Not long since Three of our men were killed & one severely wounded while out after Forage. The rebels fired at them while watering at a creek. One escaped to give the alarm. the killed were brutaly stabled and heads nearly mashed in the ground also Robed of every thing they had even boots. The men killed were from Cos C. & D.—Last week Three men were killed at Osceola in nearly the same manner. I beleive they were Co. C. That Co. moved

there soon after the first occurrence here. A man was also shot from Co. I. Three or Four days ago near this place. as yet we have only succeeded in killing one of the miscreants. But now a special order has been issued to shoot Two of the prisoners we have in our prison for every soldier that is shot. I think this order will be carried out. We have some hard cases in prison here & about Forty of them too. nearly every night some of our Pickets are fired at, or fire to some one. I am one of the unfortunate ones I can never get a shot or scarcely ever have an occasion to shoot I go on nearly every scout but cannot shoot a secesh. They say we will not scout much more here. I hope then we will leave this miserable God forsaken country where we will have something to do I observe those that lay around camp the most are the most sickly. There is a lot in every Co. that is never ready for duty never go a scouting or scarcely anything else, *except to their rations*, and they are always behind. they think *so much gained* But they mistake for it is an injury to their health. Our Co. is Generaly healthy. 'as for myself I weigh One hundred Fifty Eight lbs. never better in my life. Fred is Fat and hearty too I think you would hardly know me as I have grown fat like *Isaac*. I heard from Isaac last week he was well. Tell Henry that Isaac did not get a transfer he applied one but could not get it. If I have time, I will write Henry This week as soon as I can at any rate.

I presume you have noticed in the paper that Col. Fitz Warren is nominated for Brig. Gen. (Gigadier Brindle)¹¹¹

¹¹¹ Although nominated at this time, Colonel Warren was not actually promoted to brigadier general until July 16th. On August 26th, Major Gower succeeded him as Colonel of the First Iowa Cavalry. The reason for Gulick's obvious dislike of Colonel Warren is readily seen when we recall that he had forced Company M, which was, according to Gulick, innocent of any part in the dance break-up affair, to humiliate itself along with the guilty by formally surrendering its arms.

I hope he will be appointed if he will have nothing more to do with us.— In your letter you spoke of Emmas Melodian I hope ere this you have it. By the time you get to be a good player I may be home to hear you. That is if you are not to apt a schollar. When that scout came in I received Mary's Ambrotype I think it *very natural* as good *as could be* I owe Mary as well as your-self something good for it — I am well satisfied with what I have, but would be better satisfied if you can send some the rest —

I told you I had received Four months pay. I presume you as well as the rest of the folks would like to know what disposition I made of it. To commence on Our clothing Bill was taken out, as was \$4.22 $\frac{1}{3}$ that was paid to us by U. S. when it ought to have come from the State of Iowa. This left me \$30.45. You may wonder how it is that our clothing can cost so much, when it is understood that Govmt clothes us. We are alowed \$3.50 per. month for clothes and ought to settle at the end of the year. You see for some reason we had to settle at the end of eight months & We had drawn clothing for a year or more. The next settlement we ought to draw more money in the place of clothing. You are aware that the most of our Co. is mounted on Govmt horses. The Capt. went to St. Louis and learned that all can furnish their own horses who have a mind to, and draw .40 cts. per day for the use of them. Horses are pretty cheap here, from Forty to Eighty Dol. I have bought Two, & as I was offered more than I give I let them go I have made about Ten Dol. Trading. Shall buy another the first opportunity. If I thought we would be discharged before a horse would pay for its-self I think I would not buy as I had rather have money then.

You say Delos Millard is dead I was sorry to hear it. I regret that he did not get home as did Jim Winnee. I often think how fortunate I was in not going with that Co. They

have met with so many great misfortunes. It seems the army before Corinth is very slow, But I suppose that when the blow is made it will be decisive. You speak of our fine Garden Shad Trees &c. I can imagine well how pleasant it is it would be a grand sight to me to see something clean and neat Every thing here looks barren and desolate. Before the war I think this country looked better The soil is pretty good & land very cheap. Peaches grow here in abundance. Strawberries are ripe and plentiful. It must be things are much earlier here than with you. Since you are a farmers wife I suppose you will have plenty of work this summer. I could send you some thing towards houskeeping if I could ever get my things together I have a very nice Glass wine cup salt cellar White dish & knife fork & spoon & — that I have picked up at Deserted J.H. camps & houses. My satchel and a good many traps are at Sedalia and many things I could get but can not carry them with me. It has been raining most of the day & although it is Sunday a number of the boys have been playing cards. Card playing is very common among soldiers but as yet, *I do not play*.¹¹² I am quite tired will have to close. You all have more time to write than I have. I should think the rest of the folks children & all might wright me my love to all —————
Direct as usual

Truly Yours

Wm O. Gulick

P.S. Let one know something of my friends I dont correspond with anybody Have John S. write

Wednesday June 4th 1862

We had a company inspection and the individual horses were mustered in service while the Government horses were turned over to the Q.M. I bought me a horse from Bal-

¹¹² Gulick's family was Methodist.

lard¹¹³ which was excepted [accepted?] by the inspectors.

During the last few days boys have been buying their own horses quite fast Lt. Crosby¹¹⁴ with the Pay Master escort returned from Sedalia. I was on prison guard once one rainy day

Tuesday June 9th 1862

I have neglected to write for several days but nothing has occurred more than I was on guard my regular turn. Maj. Chamberlain joined us. Recd the Cheering news from Corinth.¹¹⁵

We go out about two miles to graze horses. The boys have hors racing for the want of else to do. poor business at the best. Weather pleasant

Wednesday June 10th 1862

This P.M. Three of Co. B. came in reporting thirty of their Co. had run across One hundred & thirty rebels returning from Prices Army. They charged upon them but found them too many to make it successful. John Miller¹¹⁶ distinguished himself by killing one in a hand to hand encounter. he was outnumbered but made his escape by loosing his revolver & having his wrist sprained.

On hearing this report one hundred men were ordered

¹¹³ Either Private Missell Ballard or Private (later Corporal) Nathan W. Ballard. Both were natives of Ohio and residents of Clinton County, and both served in Company M.

¹¹⁴ Lieutenant James P. Crosby was promoted to Captain of Company M, on September 4, 1862, upon Captain Ankeny's resignation from the service. He retired at the expiration of his own term of service in September, 1864.

¹¹⁵ The cheering news from Corinth, Mississippi, was the news of the capture of that place by Grant and Halleck on May 30, 1862.

¹¹⁶ Private John A. Miller of Company B was a native of Prussia and a resident of Lyons, Iowa. He rose through several degrees of corporal until he became 2nd corporal on February 10, 1864. He was mustered out on May 5, 1864, at the expiration of his term of service.

out to assist them twenty five from each of the four Co.s here M.I.L.D. Capt. Colwell¹¹⁷ in command We marched about ten miles to head them off by placing ourselves as pickets on four different roads. we lay all night in the grass anxiously waiting for them fortunately for them they did not come When morning come we marched to a place where the enemy had passed the night previous but for some reason Capt. Colwell would not pursue, as the boys desired We returned to camp & as we had been up all night & minus breakfast we were pretty much fatigued or played out.

I traded horses even up. got cheated "like the Dickens",
— But

Friday June 12th I made it up by trading & selling my horse. I was on prison guard

Wednesday June 18th

Was about camp — time passes as usual had a refreshing shower last night crops are poor & were in much need of rain Col. Warren came back to day he has been to St. Louis. Since I wrote Co. H. has moved to Nevada¹¹⁸ & Co. A. come here. Have been on corral guard it seems like farming work to tend mules cattle & sheep — we drive them out to graze every day

Sunday June 22nd 1862

I was on guard — I also wrote Bro. Henry¹¹⁹ a letter.

¹¹⁷ Captain Joseph W. Caldwell of Company I was subsequently promoted to 2nd major (August 26, 1862) and later to lieutenant colonel (August 21, 1863). He was wounded in April, 1864, at Camden, Arkansas, and was mustered out on September 24, 1864, at the expiration of his term of service. — *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. IV, p. 55.

¹¹⁸ Nevada, the county seat of Vernon County, Missouri, is about 50 miles north of Joplin. Vernon County borders on Kansas.

¹¹⁹ Henry Gulick was the elder of William's two brothers who remained at home.

Indications of a rain Peter Barr obtained his discharge on acct of deafness. I have been tending his horse for several days was run-a-way with twice. Mail brought me a couple of letters. The papers bring news from Wm.[?] Fremont barely gains a victory. Weather warm & dry. A scout of Thirty men went out yesterday.

Monday 23rd June /62

I was detailed on a scout did not amount to much we went out to a cave on the Kansas line — found plenty of mulberries We got back about mid night I find my new horse rides charmingly nice

Tuesday June 24th

The ox & mule train started for Sedalia. A whole load of discharged & furloughed soldiers went home the Contraband stock were taken to Clinton on their way to Jefferson City

Thursday June 26th 1862

Came on my regular guard seven prisoners were brought in among them was a rebel Col. Palmer from Prices army

Saturday June 28th

We moved camp have had considerable to do No war news of interest by the night mail Thompson¹²⁰ came back to the Co. after an absence of Five or Six months on sick furlough. We learn by him that Sergeant Gaston of our Co. has recd. a Lts. commission in the 28th Ia.

Sunday June 29th

I was on Picket guard. Cuninghame the most desperate character in prison made his escape

¹²⁰ Probably George Thompson of Lyons, private in Company M. He was in the original enlistment and served throughout the war.

Monday June 30th 1862

We had gen. inspection & muster for pay — pretty good time several of the boys were sent to pen for not appearing in proper uniform

July 1st [1862]

I went out in the Country after cherries had a good time

Thursday July 3rd /62

I came off guard at 9 oclock A.M. & at Six P.M. was detailed to go to Clinton for the mail. We traveled all night. Arrived at Clinton about four A.M. Took breakfast at the mansion house. the greater part of the day I passed at the Q.M. department in sleep. Took supper & retired after the dullest "Fourth" I ever passed

Saturday July 5th 1862

Was up and off for Butler at the break of day. We took dinner at or with Co. D. near Johnstown weather warm arrived at Butler just night. recd word of the fighting at Richmond. Oh! that we may be successful

Saturday July [12th, 1862]

The week has passed as usual. have stood guard every other day. Two prisoners have escaped. The remaining desperate bad characters have had a Ball & chain attached to their foot The weather has been very dry crops are suffering very much for want of rain.

A scout went out yesterday we hear they are fighting & need reinforcements A large party (myself included) is detailed to go to their assistance.

We marched about Ten miles When we met Capt. Ankeny with his command coming in We turned & come back with them. They report having a fight yesterday with

Quantrels¹²¹ rebel Squadron of 200 Our force was nearly as many in no. under command of Maj. Gower & Capt. Ankeny of the 1st Ia. Cavl. A few Mo. troops were also engaged. They beat the rebels badly completely routing them with a loss of 15 killed some wounded & prisoners

Our loss Ten (10) killed & 8 or 10 wounded. The great proportion of killed can be accounted for by starting it was almost a hand to hand encounter¹²²

Whole command arrived in camp about Ten oclock P.M.

Saturday July 19th 1862

For the past week I have done my duty as usual have had some rain — a great help to grain.

The mail come & went with out any news or Letter for me. The Pay Master come & yesterday we recd. pay but as the pay for our saddles & horse equipments was taken out I only recd. *Six dol.* Consequently I had to borrow money of Righby & pay for my horse as *agreed to*, — I could not get some money due me on horse trade

I am detailed for picket guard heavy shower. — A letter from home.

Saturday July 26th 1862

Time flies on — an other week is past & gone never

¹²¹ W. C. Quantrel, or Quantrill, was a notorious chief of a band of Confederate guerrillas who made southern Missouri and eastern Kansas decidedly uncomfortable places in which to live through most of the war. This band of outlaws, although working in general for the South, were without direct responsibility to the Confederate government for their acts. The burning of Lawrence, Kansas, in 1863, is probably the best known of Quantrill's unsavory deeds.

¹²² Gulick refers here to the skirmish at Big Creek Cliffs, Cass County, Missouri. In this engagement, that part of the First Iowa Cavalry which Captain Ankeny had brought with him, led by Lieutenant John McDermott of Company G, struck the blow that made certain the rout of Quantrill's force. The rebels were scattered like chaff inside of thirty minutes.—Lothrop's *A History of the First Regiment Iowa Cavalry Veteran Volunteers*, pp. 71, 72. According

more to return & with it have gone the usual occurrences of camp life. Co. B. came in from Osceola. Weather warm but pleasant. Blackberries are ripe & plentiful. I have had a touch of the [blank] was excused from duty for two or three days

Butler, Bates Co., Mo.
Co. M 1st Ia Cavl, July 27

Dear Mother

I recd your letter last week. I thought it a long time you were silent. I hope you will write sooner next time. I have been quite busy for the last week. Then it has been so extremely hot This is the warmest part of the Season. I think there is but little difference between here & with you. I am not prepared to Judge however as we have but little hard work to do in the sun. Nearly all our marching we do at night. "By the way" I marched 40 miles on the night of the 3rd of July (Carried dispatches to Clinton) You can Judge then how I passed the 4th (*I slept it away*) I suppose then since Corp. Barr¹²³ was with you, you had a pleasant time. I suppose he told you a great many things that was entirely new to you.

How is his *Deafness*. He was discharged on account of his hearing. I suppose like most others he got better very fast after his papers were made out.

Barr was a good Soldier. What do you think about drafting Will they *have too* in order to supply the Troops called I begin to think we will have to serve our Three Years out for *Uncle Sam* well if it is necessary I am willing The Col. has been promoted to Brig. Gen. I think we stand a small chance to get out of this country now soon. We have Drill

to Lothrop the losses were as follows: Union, 9 killed, 20 wounded; Confederate, 18 killed, 20 wounded.

¹²³ Peter Barr had recently received a promotion but, as Gulick mentions, had to be discharged because of deafness.

every night at six oclock That makes things appear a little Different from Bushwacking.

I presume ere this you have heard of the fight with Quantril at pleasant hill¹²⁴ Cass Co. Mo. Ten men from Co. M. & Ten from each of Six other Cos left Camp the ninth July under Capt. *Ankeny* on the morning of the 10th they were Joined by about 30 men under Mag. Gowen of Cos. A & G. They all pushed after Quantril as they were now on his Trail. About Ten oclock nearly one hundred of the 7th Mo. Joined our forces under command of Capt Kehoe They found Quantril in the Timber with 150 men. The engagement lasted about half an hour When the Rebels Skedad-eled in every direction Rebel loss 10 or 15 killed about the same wounded our loss 10 killed 17 wounded 7 of the men killed were from the 7th *nw.* Co. M. as usual lost not a man neither one recd a scratch. A Report came in camp that our boys were after Quantril & a scout was detailed to reinforce them. Among this number was I (I was on guard before) We Marched about half the night when we met the Capt. with his command returning home the battle ore. Co B & Isaac are here they are our nearest neighbours Isaac says he is going to write home soon Fred & all your acquaintences are well, very little sickness here Blackberries are very pleantifull I wish you might have half we do We received pay last week but as we had to pay \$32.00 for our saddles and I had one payment to make on my horse I could not send any money home as I should like to do. I own my horse saddle & saddle equipments now will draw over \$40.00 next pay day or the 1st of Sept. You must all write soon I have to go on guard & the mail goes out to-morrow morn. With much love to all I close,

Yours in haste

W. O. Gulick

¹²⁴ This fight is identical with the skirmish at Big Creek Cliffs.

Friday Aug. 1st 1862

We have been having drill & guard duty heavy. I was out one day hunting horses but found nothing but good meals & plenty of apples.

This morning a party of Twenty four (including myself) left camp S.E. Capt. Colwell¹²⁵ in command—had not gone more than ten miles when citizens reported a large gathering of rebels over the Osage river. We stoped & sent back for reinforcements They arrived 100—in no. about 3 oclk P.M. when we resumed our march to the river A part crossed at Bennyfields ferry & camped. I was on patrol guard all night

Saturday Aug. 2nd/62

Early this morning I was detailed to make my way with Two others over the river opsite the mouth of Panther creek, with orders to come over the river We could not cross for the almost impenetrable brush & swamp bottoms. In the midst of this we discovered a deap fresh trail bearing to Clear creek. Orderly Dunham¹²⁶ found another trail leading the same way With five men he followed it Eight miles. He found twenty five rebels taking breakfast They cut short & beat a hasty retreat.

The Orderly as well as our party reported what we had seen

The whole command moved on after them, untill we come to the edge of timber on Clear creek. Here the rebel pickets were driven in & the command divided[.] Co.s L.M. & E. under com. of Capt. Heath. took the right, while Co.s B.I. & [blank] After scouring the timber for a mile we came

¹²⁵ Captain Caldwell of Company I is again miscalled *Colwell*.

¹²⁶ Edwin A. Dunham of Company M held the rank of 1st sergeant at this time and later was promoted to 1st lieutenant, which rank he held until his discharge, on March 31, 1865.—*Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. IV, p. 69.

very suddenly upon the rebels. Capt. Heath very rashly gave the command to charge. Which was done in a gallant manner. The secesh had a trap set for us, and more than half the com. including Co.s L. & M. rushed in it.

It was a perfect gauntlet (down a lane & round a corner). The shot flew like hail, but the dust saved us in a great degree more than half the men went through and nearly every man or horse bore the marks of rebel shots. Twas here that the most of our men fell. The few that passed through were headed by Capt. Heath. I was among them. We were ordered to rally & recharge which we were about to do, when Two or three vollies dismounted, (I believe) every man but myself & one other wounding the Capt. in three places. The fence was thrown down and the boys with Lt. Berryman¹²⁷ went to join Capt. Colwell on the road.

In the mean time, the boys that were dismounted in the lain & those that were not led in the trap, were doing good exciution from behind the fence.

Capt. Colwell came up but after a few moments, he ordered a retreat. The rebels did *far* out no. us, & were consealed in the brush. Still with the courage our boys possessed they could have whiped twice their no. The rebs thought they were whiped & left for parts unknown. about the same time we retired to the prairie (Their move was unknown to us) We did [not] go after our dead & wounded untill nearly night The officers would not let us untill some of the boys went down privately & found they had left. They sent for reinforcements, & took a position on the prairie some half mile from the field of battle We found our loss in killed & wounded was Twenty — mostly from Co.s L.M. & E. Co. L 10. — Co. M. 7. — Co. E. 3 —

¹²⁷ "Lt. Berryman" must have been Lieutenant Thomas A. Bereman of Company E. He eventually rose to 2nd battalion major (February 15, 1865), and resigned on April 7, 1865.— *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. IV, p. 34.

The rebel loss said to be eleven killed — several wounded. The wounded that were taken off the field during the fight were sent to Butler Thirty miles, while the others were taken to the nearest house¹²⁸

I was detailed for Picket guard at night

Sunday Aug 3rd 1862

The sight that passed yesterday made a sleepless night. Nothing transpired on guard. The reinforcements came in from Butler at Sun-rise. We expected to pursue the enemy but instead the Col. ordered a march to camp. After burying our dead, (Which was done by wrapping them in blankets & placing them all in one grave) a detail of eight men from each of the six Co.'s was sent up Clear creek — to continue the scout, or purpose first planed.

I was with them. We marched about Fifteen miles & camped on a high mound in a prairie country for the night. good accomodations.

Monday Aug. 4th 1862

We marched to Balltown on the Osage. Camped at Wilsons about a mile north of town. Traveled about twenty miles. Wilson a "*Union man*" but charges exorbitant prices for

¹²⁸ The report of Colonel Fitz Henry Warren on this engagement at Clear Creek (about two miles from Taberville, in St. Clair County) on August 2nd, in general bears out the description of the fight given by Gulick. Captains Heath and Caldwell, with only 135 men, came upon a strongly posted body of from 300 to 500 guerrillas, against whom Captain Heath's detachment attempted a flanking movement. In so doing they encountered the ambush mentioned by Gulick, and had to run a gauntlet of murderous fire, which killed four men and wounded nine, including Captain Heath. In the meantime Captain Caldwell's sixty men, dismounted by the enemy's fire, moved around to Heath's position and peppered the rebels from behind a rail fence. When the united Union force of a little over 100 men was ready to move forward for an attack, it found that the vastly greater Confederate detachment had fled. A rebel prisoner, Captain Clarey, admitted that they had lost 11 killed and 18 wounded. — *Official Records: War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. XIII, pp. 200, 201.

everything he sells to us. The boys made it up by steeling "*or reaching*". *I was on guard.*

Tuesday Aug. 5th 1862

After a march of twenty miles we arrived at Camp. (Butler) We have had quite a pleasant time during the last scout. took some prisoners — or *bushwhackers* The weather was pleasant or I would have fared slim as I had loaned my only blanket to the wounded at Clear creek

When we were in camp we learned Capt. Ankeny had gone down to Montevallo He came in just night & reports that 1500 rebels occupy Montevallo When nearly their they come out to meet him & tried decoy which did not succeed as Capt. is very wily. It was expected they would persue. Our camp was in quite & [an?] excitement. Every man was in the saddle & posted in lines of battle around camp. No enemy appeared.

Wednesday Aug. 6th All tired standing so much guard last night a party went to Ft. Scott for reinforcements. All quiet except crying women when the prisoners were started for Jeff. City Many will never be permitted to return after trial. hard customers

Thursday Aug 7th 1862

This morning preparations were made to move the whole command to Clinton.

It is expected that the rebels will attack us under Com. of Col. Coffee¹²⁹ & Haze¹³⁰

At 7 P.M. we took up our line of march for Clinton. Our whole command & train were two miles in length. We ar-

¹²⁹ Colonel Coffee was quite prominent in Confederate guerrilla operations in Missouri and Arkansas.

¹³⁰ Probably Hayes, some subordinate of Colonel Coffee.

rived at Johnstown about 3 oclock Friday morn, in the timber at this place a number of bushwhackers or guerrillas fired on us. fortunately only one horse was killed. The fire was promptly returned, & a hundred riflemen dismounted & scoured the woods. Rebels fled. We arrived at Clinton at 9 A.M. of —————

Friday Aug. 8th with out any more adventures. Was about town nearly all day when we moved out about three miles — on grand river where we established our camp.

Two pieces of the 3rd Ind. Battery arrived from Sadalia

Saturday Aug. 9th 1862

I was about camp resting myself as well as horse. Just night a part of One hundred men started out on a reconnoitring trip they are furnished with all the Sharps rifles at our disposal Six & seven to the Co. I wrote a letter home, during which time an unfortunate Peanut & Lemonaid dealer was robed of his stock unknown to him, although it was before his face, done by the ever adventurous soldier

Clinton Mo. Aug. 9th/62

Dear Mother

I recd. your paper a few days ago, by it you said you had recd. my letter. So I expected a letter at this place by the last nights mail. *It did not come.* I began to think you (I mean the folks at home) had become very negligent. I should not take the trouble to write *myself*, had we not gone through so many changes and so much trouble since I wrote you last.

I thought you might hear of our fight¹³¹ &c, and be

¹³¹ "Our fight" was the skirmish at Clear Creek described in the journal entry for August 2nd.

troubled about me I will relate to you the circumstances that have happened since the first of Aug. Friday Aug first I was Detailed with Four other from our Co. & as many from each of the six Cos. here to go on a scout South West We had gone about Fifteen Mile when we met some citizens who reported more than a hundred rebels gathering on or over the Osage in our direct course. We sent back to Butler for reinforcements. they came about Three oclock P. M. One hundred Twenty strong. We now had 150 men. We marched to the Osage where we encamped for the night. (I come on Patroll Guard so did not get much sleep.) About sun rise we (that is the guard) discovered a large trail from the Timber below us about Four miles, leading to Clear creek In the mean time Our Orderly Seargeant with Four men discovered another trail going the same way. he followed about Six miles when suddenly he came to a house where Twenty five were geting breakfast The rebels run left breakfast and other things in great haste The Orderly now reported to the command. The whole Com. now moved on in great haste after them (I got some of the breakfast that was prepared Twas about all I had too) We come to the Timber on Clear creek about Ten oclock A. M. There They divided the command. Capt. Heath of Co L. took Cos L. M. & E and made a Detour to the right in the Timber. Capt. Colwell of Co I. remained with Cos. B. I. & K outside until the atack commenced. After we had been in the Timber about half an hour we Drove in the Pickets The order "*Charge*" come, & away we went Cos L. and a part of M. in the advance. The Enemy were in the brush each side of a lane, and in and around a house. They had a Trap set for us and all the advance guard *my self* included rushed in The rebels poured shot in us from all Quarters *like hale* nearly all the men lost in the engagement fell here Twas like runing

the Guantlet About half of us went through The rest fell back to take a position behind the fense Freds horse threw him & he took a position behind the fence When we had gone through down to the end of the lane Cap Heath who was then shot in the arm tride to rally the men to charge the brush (I had shot twice in passing through. Came very near being dismounted as my horse jumped on a dead horse, but had not received a scratch on my person or horse I was the last or nearly the last man through)

We were geting straight and ready for a charge When Two or Three vollies from the Brush Dismounted I believe every man but Sargeant Colter of Co. E. & myself. Capt Heaths horse was shot and he wounded in the Thigh. Not so Many men or horses were wounded as I at first supposed. Many men were thrown their horse were frightened. We then had orders to take down the fence and go round the field and Join Capt Colwell command. My horse leaped the fence and I rode up to get some more shots at the rebels I was soon discovered and as I was alone and exposed I went back to overtake Cap Heath to go around and help Colwell. But Just as we came around (Lt. Berryman in command Capt. Heath taken to the first house with some of the other wounded) to the other side of the Battle Ground Cap Colwell was comeing out, the fight at an end. We found out to our sorrow that the rebels had from Three to Four hundred And that it was a difficult thing to disloge them We came out as I said formed in line of Battle. & after geting water for us all and takeing care of the wounded that we had brought off the field and fooling around, it seemed to me an unnecessary long time We went back to the field but they were gone & we found our dead and wounded in a miserable state The rebels had left in great hast they undoubtedly expected us to charge on them again We supposed they had only fell back to take a new position

so we did not give chase, but sent in to Butler for reinforcement We brought off our dead & wounded Which we found to be Four killed & Fourteen wounded From our Co. (or Twenty men engaged) There was One killed & Five wounded From Co. L. or Twenty men engaged There was Three killed & Seven wounded From Co. E. or Twenty men engaged Two wounded The only wonder is to me that every man that run the Guantlett *as it were* was not shot. You see that the number of killed & wounded in the Cos *vary* as they entered the fight Co. L first M next then E. The rebels made very poor *shooting*, but then it was such a cloud of smoke & dust that we were in they could not take good aim. I feel I was very fortunate I never received a scratch nor lost anything Fred came out all right himself but, The rebels got his horse and saddle I think there will be some arrangements mad to save him the loss It is too bad he had just got them payed for Isaac was not in tho

At night we took up our position on the Pararie. I was on guard again. But I might as well been for the excitement of the day made a sleepless night for many of us. I did not feel my self in any danger neither did I have any strange feeling during the fight *if any* they were all after ward. Next morning the reinforcements arrived but on examination the rebels had left the country for good and all but Forty men returned to camp I was one of that number We continued out Three days went up on the Little Osage & around toward the Kansas line then to Butler. I was on guard every night but one. What time I did sleep however was with out a blanket on the Ground I give My *Little Red Blanket* the only one with me, for the use of the wounded boys I forgot to say the killed were burried with their blankets only wrapt around them I shall never forget the sight nearly every man killed was shot in the face.

The rebel loss was reported Eleven killed When we arrived in Buttler we found that Cap Ankeny had gone out with One hundred men to reconnoitre the country south west. He run in about Fifteen hundred Rebels near Montwallon he had to retreat double Quick It seems since the late act ordering all men of the State to Join the Mo. state Troops the Majority of the citizens left & Joined these small bands and they have concentrated have Joined Coffee, Hase, & other rebel leaders in this part. Many Troops from the South have come up & it seems they are about to over run this portion of the State They have taken several small posts & even threatened ours. Our Regt was obliged to abandon Osceola & Butler Two nights before we left Butler we were mounted on the outskirts of Town expecting a fight all night But they did not dare attack us then On leaving the Post at B we burned all that we could not carry with us. We were all night and part of yesterday fore noon comeing here. At Johnstown we were fired on by the bushwhackers none hurt. One horse killed. We have been reinforced here by Three or four Cos of State Troops and Two pieces of the 3rd Ind. Batery We intend to hold this place until we get reinforcements then we will go out to fight these rebels around here I have written to much all ready concerning this affair. I feel miserably tired have been on guard or on a march Seven nights out of Eight

I suppose by the time you get this Drafting will be in opperation John Schuyler undoubtedly will have to go Tell him he can come in this Co if he wants to I do wish he would Tell him to write concerning it There is a talk of our going to Jeff. City Our Col. has been promoted to Brig. Gen. I here he has to take up his head Quarters their Isaac is here he says he will not writ until he gets

some letters. Do some of you write I have written in great haste so excuse all errors

Your Aff. Son

W. O. Gulick

I send some flowers in this that I picked in the yard on and near the battle Ground

W. O. Gulick

Sunday Aug. 10th 1862

The scout of yesterday report the rebels at Osceola. Thirty men from each Co in the Regt. were detailed to go with Col. Warren Com. to Osceola. It was well understood to fight Coffee (Since Coffee turned up our Regt has consentrated here Clinton) But he left in hast at our approach on the morn of the 11th We took breakfast at Osceola Then as their was no show for a fight we returned to Clinton where we arrived just night Coffee outnumbered us but we had artillery consequently he was afraid & left the first cannon shot It is said he had sent his wife to our camp to ascertain if we had artillery it may or may not be so.

Tuesday Aug. 12th 1862

I wrote a letter to John Schuyler sent it by Lt. Crosby as he together with all the boys that were wounded, went home on furlough

E. P. Iden¹³² of our Co. is a prisoner with the rebels He left the party that went to Ft. Scott on the 6th to have a spree.

Rebels are quite numerous, our scouts and dispatch bearers are chased whenever out. Nate Gordon¹³³ came

¹³² Edward P. Iden had been in trouble before. Formerly a corporal, he had been reduced to the ranks on March 23, 1862. He reënlisted on February 22, 1864, but deserted on July 22nd of the same year at Davenport.—*Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. IV, p. 105.

¹³³ Nathan Gordon, of Company M, came from Lyons to enlist as a wagoner, on October 15, 1861. He served throughout the war, becoming a sergeant be-

back to Co. he has been home on furlough. had his arm broken the fourth of July.

Wednesday Aug. 13th 1862

Was about camp all day. A party of 100 men went out on a scout. I hear that a party of militia went with them

This Thursday morning a detail of 20 men from each Co. of our Regt. also some of the 1st Mo. Cavl that are encamped here were sent out in different directions with instructions to concentrate if the enemy was found & give them battle. Co.s E. K. & M. were together under Com. of Lt. Barns of R. Co. Our direction was north west We traveled about 20 miles across the country regardless of roads then lay on the prairie for the night. I was posted out as guard.

Friday Aug. 15th 1862

After a march of five miles we took breakfast. Moved on a mile farther to Dayton, where there was about 25 guerrillas They made some show of fighting but soon run & joined with Maj. Gower's command about Two ocl'k P. M. Then marched to Harrisonville where we camped for the night. We found about Forty rebels in town. They left double quick with *some cold lead* flying after them. We were now fairly on the track of Coffee who it is reported has 3,000 men.

The citizens are in a great state of alarm It is amusing to hear the women tell their stories, as they crowd the streets around us They say they were threatened to be taken as prisoners & robed by the rebels. Their Joy knew no bounds when we came in & released their men.

Saturday Aug. 16th 1862

This morning the Col. who had been round by Butler

fore its close.—*Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. IV, p. 85.

came in. We now have 600 men the Col. Commanding them, & Two pieces of the 3rd Ind. Battery. At about Eight oclock A. M. we took up our line of march on the trail of the rebels We captured several prisoners Two fishermen they had just enough fish for *supper for our mess*. The boys begin to trade horses. We crossed Big creek where the rebels had camped two nights before. We camped Two miles farther at Rose hill city as usual slept on the ground without shelter

Sunday Aug. 17th 1862

We were on the move by four oclock. We heard at Kingsville that the rebels had fought & whiped Col. Foster¹³⁴ with Six hundred state militia capturing the two pieces of artillery he had.

We marched on to Lone Jack¹³⁵ Crossed the battle field that was nearly in the town, formed in line of battle. The rebels were half mile off forming also. We expected a fight *sure*.

We heard of our reinforcements Seven miles back We found the position we occupied was not a good one (too easily out flanked so we fell back nearly a mile, on an eminence Sent out reconoitreing parties to find the position of the enemy. In the course of two hours we learned they were passing round our right in full retreat south. Our reinforcements under Gen. Blunt¹³⁶ & Saloman¹³⁷ Two

¹³⁴ Probably Colonel J. W. Foster, Union army.

¹³⁵ Lone Jack is a small village about 30 miles southwest of Kansas City, Missouri, in the opposite corner of Jackson County. General Warren's command on this march from Clinton had taken an indirect route by way of Dayton and Harrisonville, Cass County. The object of this march was to form a junction with General Blunt's forces for the pursuit of guerrilla bands in this neighborhood.

¹³⁶ Brigadier General James G. Blunt, in April, 1862, had assumed command of the Department of Kansas.

¹³⁷ Brigadier General Salomon coöperated with General Blunt in western

thousand strong came in. (Their command consisted of the 2nd Ohio Cavl 6th Kansas Cavl. The 9th Wis. & some Kansas Inft. & one Co of the end Ind. Battery six pieces of Cannon.)

This command was much fatigued had to rest & feed. While Col. or Gen. Warren with our Com. went double quick to cut them off in their retreat. We came near doing so Seven miles out But the night set in dark & stormy could not see them so they made their escape by passing close around us, and gained several miles We were allowed to rest ourselves by laying on the wet ground holding our horses. passed a very rough night

Monday Aug. 18th 1862

Long before day we were on the move marched on their trail to Kingsville.¹³⁸ Here the whole command joind us also about fifteen hundred men & four cannon under command of Col. Cloud.

After using the last of our rations for a scanty breakfast, we made a force march all day. Our advance skirmished with the enemies rear. Was rainy so we camped about dark. Had nothing but fresh *beef & green corn* for supper. I thought might as well die by eating as to starve to death, so partook of the fare with a relish not but a soldier placed in similar circumstances can think of

Tuesday Aug 19th 1862

We force marched all day on green corn & beef.¹³⁹ The Missouri operations at this time. He was an inconspicuous and little known officer; the same applies to Colonel Cloud, who worked with him.

¹³⁸ Kingsville is in western Johnson County, Missouri, some 15 miles west of Warrensburg, the county seat.

¹³⁹ In the course of less than three weeks this detachment of the First Iowa Cavalry under Brigadier General Warren marched over 300 miles in

rebels fairly stampeded skirmished with theirs They crossed the river Osage at Taperville, four miles beyond. our advance had quite a skirmish with their rear guard killing several of the rebels. A no. of our boys were wounded. We camped near Taperville.¹⁴⁰

Wednesday Aug 20th 1862

We followed the enemy Ten miles farther Then as our men were nearly starved out and going still farther from camp at Clinton Gen Warren with our command returned Camped four miles north of Taperville Gens. Blunt & Saloman & Col. Cloud kept up the chase as they were not going away from their post at Ft. Scott

Thursday Aug 21st 1862

Last night had a heavy shower as we were on the ground minus shelter no wonder we were soaked. But fortunately soldiers are *tough* so did not mind it All was forgotten when we arrived at Clinton and partook of a square meal on rations that were sent from Sedalia to meet us. We found our camp & all the Stores had been moved from Clinton to Sedalia since we had left as they were afraid of an attack during our absence & their weakness

Friday Aug. 22nd 1862

We were about Clinton not knowing what to do. Sergeant Hodges¹⁴¹ came through from Calhoun — informed us that

pursuit of rebel guerrilla bands before returning to Clinton on the 26th of the month.— *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. IV, p. 9.

¹⁴⁰ Taberville is in St. Clair County, Missouri.

¹⁴¹ An interesting fact concerning Sergeant Clark Hodges of Company M is that he was reduced to the ranks at his own request — reason not given — on January 6, 1864. He was mustered out at the end of his term of service, on September 9, 1864.— *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. IV, p. 103.

a part of our Co. as well as Regt. were with Gen. Totten¹⁴² Expecting to go south on an expedition against the rebel Gen. Rains. This would suit me, but we may go to Sedalia

Sunday Aug. 24th 1862

We are living here at Clinton without shelter or any of the conveniencies of camp Still we are as happy as you pleas with plenty of mellons & peaches

Clinton Henry Co. Mo.

Co. M. 1st Ia Cavl Aug 27th

Dear Sister Cynthia

I have just returned from a Ten day Scout & found your letter had been waiting for me Five days. Things here have undergone quite a change during the present month. And the Secesh have been very active as well as *ourselves*. We had quite an interesting Time on the last Scout. A great cry and but little fighting

While the better half of our Regt. were makeing the Rebels Skedadle before them the other part in camp took fright and left for Sedalia. However holding this Post with as much Government Stores as there was here, was undoubtedly a little dangerous. Though They ought not left in the hurry they did They Burned a great quantity of Provisions & clothing

Fred was here and availed himself of the opportunity. Cast off his old Garment and secured himself a new Uniform. He was so thoughtful as to get me a pair of Pants. I have not seen him since I came in, as The Capt¹⁴³ with a

¹⁴² Brigadier General James Totten, Captain of the Second U. S. Artillery, who distinguished himself by valiant work against superior numbers at the battle of Wilson's Creek (August 10, 1861), must be the man referred to. The only other possibility would be Major General Joseph G. Totten, Chief Engineer of the U. S. Army, which is highly improbable as his work was mainly in the East.

¹⁴³ W. H. Ankeny was still Captain of Company M when this was written.

detail from this Regt. Fred included went to take Gen. Totten Amunition. He is or was at Osceola. The detail is expected back soon Gen. Totten passed through here with about Five thousand men last week, it is said that Reins [Rains] & Coffee (whom we chased on the scout and whom I will tell you of Presently) have joined forces and are marching north.

Totten will give them a sweet reception Undoubtedly he will receive reinforcements & Our Regt may be called for I shall be glad to go, as Scouting & Fighting suits me better than laying around Camp. (Missouri suits me very well now since there is something to do I shall not want to see other parts untill this is cleaned out)

In regard to the Scout you must not expect full details as it would be quite tedious to relate. It seems the quiet Union men you spoke of & many that had taken the *oath* since the late order to show their colors have joined together under the Rebl Colonel Coffee. Some Four or Five thousand in number. They intended to make a descent on Lexington as there was a goodly quantity of arms & stores and but few Troops, there. They thought they could capture them and escape south They had to pass up through our Territory consequently. as we have been very watchfull they were discovered. So on the 14th inst. we that is about Five hundred of Our Regt. and Two Pieces of the 3rd Ind. Battery Sallied forth to hunt them after Figureing about Two or Three days we discovered their Trail and followed it north as far as Lone Jack. Before our arrival there we learned they had a severe fight with Maj. Foster commanding Eight hundred State Militia with Two Pieces of the 3rd Ind. Battery the same as with us. The result was the defeat of the State troops. and the loss of both

He resigned exactly one week later and was succeeded by Lieutenant James P. Crosby.

Cannons & Fifty killed many wounded and a number prisoners. The Rebels had about Sixty killed. But as they had two Guns they were better prepared to fight now than ever. We were about Ten hours Too late to assist the State Militia. When within Five miles of Lone Jack We learned that Two thousand Troops from Ft Scott under *Generls* Blunt & Solomon were Seven miles behind us. We now felt our selves eaquel to the enemy and moved on to open the fight as soon as possible. We marched within half mile of the Rebels camp and formed in line of Battle on the same ground the fighting had been done on the day before. The wounded Maj Foster and many others were in a house not Twenty rods from our line. The rebels seemed very active but showed no disposition to attack our front.

In a short time we discovered they were trying to out flank us, and as our position was not a very good one, we retired a short distance on an elevation. The enemy in manouvring around discovered our long line of Reinforcements, comeing in they immediately returned to their camp and comenced a retreat. It was Two hours before We discovered it. When they were in full retreat away on our right. The reinforcements that came in were very much fatigued and had to stop and feed. So our Command Under General Warren¹⁴⁴ Marched out Double quick to head them off. We came near doing so Seven miles out from Town. We were side by side and our Flankers commenced Skirmishing when the night set in very dark & rainy. We could not bring on a general engagment & we dare not follow them for fear of takeing the wrong road. So we stood sit & lay holding our horses all night in rain fortunately I had my ruber coat. Morning came at last and the Rebels were Ten miles south of us. We moved on to Kings Ville. the

¹⁴⁴ Fitz Henry Warren assumed the rank of brigadier general, for which he had been recommended in June, about ten days previous to this writing.

whole command joined us about Sunrise. Also Colonel Cloud with Fifteen hundred men. We now had 3,000 men and Twelve Pieces of Artillery. The Inft. were drawn in Wagons to keep up with the Cavl. We fed our horses and devoured all of our Grub. (We had only taken Five days rations with us) We then Took after the rebels with all hast we over took their rear Guard just night and from that time on We (that is our advance Guard) kept up skirmishing. We followed them from within 20 miles of Lexington about Twenty Miles below the Osage river Then as our command was going too far away from home with out Preparations we came back and Gen. Blunt with his com. followed on. During the Four days skirmishing There was Eighteen rebels killed and only a few of our boys wounded. They kept up a perfect Stampede all the time. Most of the time after our rations gave out we had Green corn & Fresh Beef only, and several days and nights it was rainy and wet

You may think this fare pretty rough, But we get used to it and it just suits us. The chase we gave Coffe reminds me of *Price*, only swifter and of shorter duration, and his final escape without a *Pea Ridge* affare

The 18th Ia inft is at Sedalia and the 19th Ia is expected. is there any body you are acquainted with

It would do me as much good to see some one from home as it would you to see a Soldier from this Co. Furloughs are about played out I guess and those home are returning every day. Mark Tillie is back He says he saw *Father*. It realy did me good to hear so direct from home

I wrote in my last that Lieut. Crosby was going home and would recruit for our Co. He was stoped at Jeff. City but Seargt Mettle and anumber others wounded will or is there by this time. But I learn by your letter that nearly every body have enlisted. It is hard for so many to leave the *home* country. To leave Families & friends. But it is in a

noble cause, and for noble deeds How proud are we here. to learn of Iowas well doing. We expected to see drafting ere this. I am sorry *John* & Henry could not come here. I know a Cavl soldier enjoys himself more than Inft. It is much easier I have seen too much Inft *toating pack* on *back* and heavy musket. Cavl carry all on their Saddles and are burdened with nothing. They are much the healthiest from this reason when tired of *camp* can mount horse and ride out in the country & get some fruit perchance a good dinner and take the fresh cool air This we do when ere we choose

It will come very hard for Weston to be a soldier & many others also. To do as others will, and keep *mum* To stand regular Guard, & perform soldiers duty generally I should like to hear from John & Henry when they get in their Co. I may have a letter now from some of you as the boys tell me Fred has a letter with him for me

Dont let Parkes enlist he could not stand it to soldier. I have seen too many young boys broken down. There is no help for a person when once *in*, he has to "*Root hog or die*" In case he *should enlist* let him come to me I could assist him a great deal more than any body else. It is said Our Cos in this Regt will have to fill up to one hundred men, Six or Eight have already enlisted in our Co.

I wish you could have half the fruit we do here. Peaches are ripe and apples are very fine. *Plumbs* remind me of Shiblies Point I had not heard of the fight (if any) at Kirksville.¹⁴⁵ But undoubtedly they see some Trouble there

¹⁴⁵ Kirksville is the county seat of Adair County in northeastern Missouri. On August 6, 1862, it was captured by 1000 Union men under Colonel John McNeil of the Second Missouri Cavalry. About 2500 to 3000 Confederates were posted in the village, but were driven out with a loss to the Union force of only 5 killed and 25 wounded. About 200 horses, 40 prisoners, and many arms were taken. At least 150 Confederates are believed to have been killed and wounded.—*Official Records: War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. XIII, pp. 211, 212.

as well as *elsewhere*. I was quit[e] surprised at hearing the news from the Potomac when I came in. I think something will turn up that we have not heard of yet in that direction. Of late our camp is swarming with Darkies. It is Darkie cook, Darkie waiter Darkie hostler & Darkies are becoming very popular. By the way Darkies dinner is waiting and I will have to close.

A Scout is talked of this after noon I maybe Detailed so I must be in readiness. If I am not Detailed I shall go out in the country after apples. One has to be very cautious or he will get picked up. Two of our Co have been taken prisoners striped of every thing and then let go.

Pay day will soon come I expect to send some money home for Mother to use for anything she needs she was so kind as to look out for fruit trees on my lots. By the way how does everything prosper at home. I never hear from the Children. have them write me.

Gorham of our Co a friend of mine corresponds with Capt. Johnson he speaks of him as a very fine man.

You must excuse all errors and writ soon.

Your Aff. Brother

W. O. Gulick

Sunday Aug 31st 1862

I have neglected to write for the last week during which time our Regt. has returned from Sedalia & all camped at the mounds three miles from Clinton. Have had all the apples & peaches could manage. Today we have had Gen. muster for pay.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY IN IOWA

The cry of "Votes for Women" was raised early in Iowa, even before Iowa became a State. A visitor at the Territorial capitol in February, 1844, writes that the "woman question" came up then for the first time in an Iowa legislature. An afternoon had been set apart for discussing the matter and a number of ladies of Iowa City had taken seats among the members of the Assembly. "Doubtless there were those who felt that it was a large subject, too large for the time to settle or dispose of, but two or three went into regular spread-eagleism and aired their shallowness, their conceit and their devotion to women, as a parlor ornament."

Not until 1866, however, does the question of equal suffrage again appear to have agitated the minds of Iowa legislators. The Committee on Constitutional Amendments in 1866 was instructed to inquire into the expediency of striking out the word "male" wherever it occurred in the Constitution relative to the right of voting. A declaration of independence for women was drawn up and presented in the House two years later, requesting "that steps be taken looking towards a change in the constitution of this State so as to allow women the right of franchise, for the proper use of which, her quick perception, strong intellect, and above all, her high sense of right and justice, have proven her so well qualified."

From this time on the question arose biennially in the General Assembly and was of perennial interest to progressive men and women throughout the State. The hopes of the friends of equal suffrage ran high, especially during the early seventies when both branches of the General As-

sembly passed joint resolutions to grant women the franchise, although the necessary votes could not be secured twice in succession as required for the constitutional amendment.

It was during this period of optimism that Miss Susan B. Anthony, the national advocate of woman suffrage, visited Iowa. Four times she lectured here between 1870 and 1880. In 1871 she spoke in Davenport, Burlington, Mount Pleasant, Ottumwa, Cedar Rapids, Des Moines, and Council Bluffs. Large crowds came to hear her at Des Moines and Cedar Rapids, but everywhere she was met with a cordial welcome and often entertained in private homes.

At Cedar Rapids she spoke on the subject the "Power of the Ballot". Under the law as it was then, she asserted that the marriage relation meant servitude on the part of the wife; woman was the slave of man. The law discriminated against her in the matter of the property which was accumulated during marriage partly as a result of her care and labor. Trades and professions were mostly closed to her, and if she did succeed in entering any, she was paid less for her work because she was a woman. Under such circumstances it was mockery to call women free. Then making her special plea with all the persuasive and impressive powers of her oratory she exhorted her audience to "strive to get woman into a position in which she could be the image of God himself, and not of man", adding that she was "now nothing but a reflection of man".

She suggested that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments really enfranchised women, and announced that this interpretation of these amendments would soon be tested in the courts. According to one report, she put several motions to the house. Among other queries she asked all who wanted women to vote to say aye. Several responded.

When she asked all who did not want the women to vote there was a "good response". In answer to the question how many women would apply to the board of registry to have their names registered—it being assumed that women perhaps could vote under the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth amendments—"one solitary female arose". But when she asked the men to stand up who would assist and protect this woman in this enterprise several "signified their willingness to see the job through". This ended Miss Anthony's lecture on the "Power of the Ballot".

Under the title "Susan B. Anthony's Scold", *The Cedar Rapids Times* for February 16, 1871, further commented on the address. The editor did not consider it a success as a literary entertainment, "but a well digested array of arguments—from her stand point—in favor of 'woman's rights', and a sarcastic presentation of 'woman's wrongs' worthy of a New York lawyer, and as a genuine hearty scold (not to use the more modern title 'cussing') it was pre-eminently striking."

Soaring into the higher altitudes of the judge and philosopher the Cedar Rapids editor gives his views of the "woman question". "The difficulty with Miss A. and those of her ilk is, that they are not satisfied to act their part in the drama of life which the laws of nature and the necessities of our social organization demand of them, parts as truly noble and as essential to our social, moral and material being as any which men act, but aspire to do and be something which not one woman of a thousand can ever be, simply because she has not the physical organization adapted to it nor the mental peculiarities which fit her for the performance of the duties of the position to which they aspire."

The editor admits that woman should have the ballot if it will make her a better wife and mother, but he saves his

editorial dignity by this parting fling: "for woman's sake let us [be] done with this eternal scold about women's wrongs and mans tyranny until we can have some more sensible plan than the one proposed to avert it."

In 1875 Miss Anthony was again lecturing in Iowa, this time more for pecuniary considerations than for the improvement of the political status of her sex. She had written to friends in one hundred Iowa towns offering to speak at the rate of twenty-five dollars per lecture or one-half of the gross receipts. Sixty of the towns accepted her offer. During the spring and autumn of 1875 she filled these engagements and they averaged her thirty dollars apiece. But the work was hard. In the words of her biographer, Ida Husted Harper, her path led "over stony roads, with briar hedges on both sides". Trains had to be taken at all hours of the night. Sometimes she had to ride in a freight car or drive twenty or thirty miles across the country in mud and snow and prairie winds. Yet these ills were not so hard to bear as "the cold, dirty rooms, hard beds, and poorly cooked food sometimes found in small hotels. Frequently she had to sit by the kitchen stove all day as not a bedroom would have a fire and the only sitting-room contained the bar and was black with tobacco smoke".

Despite these hardships Miss Anthony liked Iowa, for the next year she was again touring the Hawkeye State as well as other Western States, speaking this time on the subject, "Woman Wants Bread not the Ballot". The title was somewhat a misnomer for she showed that women wanted the ballot to aid them in earning a living and she pleaded with her audiences to help to give the ballot to the three million wage-earning women in the country so that they might be able "to compel politicians to legislate in their favor and employers to grant them justice." This line of argument perhaps did not carry a wide conviction

in an agricultural State like Iowa with a comparatively small number of wage-earning women, but many Iowa women who heard Miss Anthony, nevertheless, must have felt as a writer in *The Marengo Republican* for February 23, 1876, did, who "left the church [where Miss Anthony had spoken] feeling proud that this scholarly refined lady, the peer of legislators and statesmen, with her wit and wisdom has championed so well the cause of our sex."

The attitude of the editors at this time, as usual, was often that of the exalted male not deigning to consider the question of equal suffrage in the light of advancing science and democracy, but frequently ready to indulge in scurrilous comment. It was known that Miss Anthony was at this time working hard to pay her debts among which was a conscience debt which she had carried since the failure of her journal *The Revolution*, to begin the next century free from debt. "Ah, happy Susan", the editor of *The State Press* (Iowa City) observed, "unlike many wretched young men who make spasmodic attempts of reform each New Year's Day she turns over a new leaf only at the opening of the centuries."

Miss Anthony returned from her lecture trips with money enough to pay the debts of *The Revolution*. She lectured in Iowa again in 1877 and attended conventions and meetings here several times after that, but Iowa never amended her Constitution to admit women to the franchise. Too many editors thought it would be the moral downfall of women and too many legislators thought it would be "fraught with serious and mischievous results to society". Though the question of equal suffrage in Iowa was before the people nearly three-quarters of a century, the women of Iowa were not enfranchised until the Nineteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution was adopted in 1920.

THOMAS P. CHRISTENSEN

SOME PUBLICATIONS

Conquering Our Great American Plains. By Stuart Henry. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1930. Pp. 395. Plates. This volume is the dramatic and colorful story of the West during the high tide of the Texas cattle trade in the seventies and eighties. Abilene, Kansas, is the geographical center of the story as it was the junction of the Abilene and Chisholm trails. The chief attention of the author is given to the social aspect of history — how the people lived. He includes the stories of two of the western heroes, Thomas James Smith and James Butler (Wild Bill) Hickok, both of whom served as marshal of Abilene.

The Story of the Red Man. By Flora Warren Seymour. New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1929. Pp. 421. Plates, maps. Many books have been written about the Indians, but this one volume history by Mrs. Seymour makes a most satisfactory addition to the list. It is a general survey of the Indians in the United States, with special reference to their relations with the white people as the frontier of friction between the two races moved across the continent. The titles of the twenty chapters suggest the scope of the volume — History Dawns for the Indian; The Prologue: Pontiac; The Revolution on the Border; The People of the West; Tecumseh; Creek Country; The Western Frontier; Forest Folk; The Westward Trail; The Seminole; Oregon Country; The Old Southwest; The Fighting Fifties; The Civil War in the West; Warfare on the Plains; Last Stands; The Fires Die Down; The Red Man at School; The Red Man and the Land; and The Red Man at Home. The volume is written in an entertaining style and is supplied with bibliographical notes and an index.

America in the Forties II The Letters of Ole Munch Raeder. Translated and edited by Gunnar J. Malmin. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press. 1929. Pp. 244. This volume is made up of a collection of letters written by Ole Munch Raeder, a young

Norwegian who was sent by the government of Norway in 1846 to study legal procedure in America. His official report was published in 1847. These letters, however, were not a part of his official report, but were written to a Norwegian newspaper and published in twenty-five installments during 1847 and 1848.

Raeder was interested in American life from the standpoint of a foreign observer and his comments give an interesting picture of life in the United States, especially in Wisconsin. As a Norwegian he was also interested in the condition of the Norwegians in America. The book is divided into twenty-seven chapters and different letters are not clearly marked.

The style is that of an educated man writing informally of things which he observes in a new country. The value of the narrative is increased by the introduction and notes provided by the editor, Gunnar J. Malmin of Drake University. The volume is provided with an index and is attractively printed and bound.

Stagecoach and Tavern Tales of the Old Northwest. By Harry Ellsworth Cole. Edited by Louise Phelps Kellogg. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1930. Pp. 476. Plates, maps. Harry Ellsworth Cole, the author of this volume, was for several years president of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Mr. Cole died before the manuscript had been finally revised for the printer and this work was done by Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg. The title suggests the general theme of the volume. It tells the story of the taverns where travelers in the Old Northwest spent their nights, describes the cooking and the entertainments, and incidentally tells much about life on the frontier. Most of the particular taverns described were located in Wisconsin, but the descriptions must have been true for the Middle West. The pictures and maps add to the value of the book.

The style is interesting and the physical make-up of the volume is unusually attractive. There are no notes, but a comprehensive index is provided.

William Best Hesseltine is the author of a volume entitled *Civil War Prisons A Study in War Psychology*, which has been pub-

lished by the Ohio State University Press. An annotated bibliography and an index complete the study.

Cooper: Interpreter of the Real and the Historical Indian, by Jason Almus Russell; and *The Remarkable Story of Clark's "Bloodless Conquest" of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River*, by Daisy Belle Fuller, are two articles in Volume XXIII of *The Journal of American History* which are of interest to students of middle western history.

Archaeological Work in Westmoreland and Fayette Counties, 1929, a report by Robert M. Engberg, with an introduction by J. Walter Miles; *The Principal Indian Towns of Western Pennsylvania*, by C. Hale Sipe; and a continuation of *The Development of the Tinplate Industry*, by W. C. Cronmeyer, are the three articles in the April issue of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*.

WESTERN AMERICANA

Two Girls of Old Detroit, by M. M. Quaife, makes up the May issue of the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet*.

One Hundred Years Ago, by Inez Smith Davis, appears as a short article in the April, May, and June, 1930, issues of *Vision*.

The Lead Traffic on the Upper Mississippi, 1823-1848, by William J. Petersen, has been reprinted from *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June, 1930.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has recently published the *Proceedings* of the Society at its seventy-seventh annual meeting, held at Madison on October 17, 1929.

Going West to College in the Thirties, selections from letters in the Oberlin College Library, edited by Robert S. Fletcher, has been published as number one of Volume II of the *Oberlin College Library Bulletin*.

I. H. Lionberger is the author of *The Annals of St. Louis and A Brief Account of its Foundation and Progress 1764-1928*, recently

published in pamphlet form by the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis.

The three contributions in *The Filson Club History Quarterly* for April are: *An Outline of the Origin and Settlement of Louisville, in Kentucky* (written in 1832), by Mann Butler; *Map of Louisville, 1832*, by E. D. Hobbs; and *Robert Craddock and Peter Tardiveau*, by T. C. Cherry.

The April issue of the *Indiana History Bulletin* contains the *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Indiana History Conference*, including a number of the papers read. The number for May contains, among other things, a list of historical organizations and county historical societies in Indiana.

The January issue of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* contains an address by James W. Good on the occasion of the unveiling of the Ohio monument to General Anthony Wayne; an article — *Wayne's Strategic Advance from Fort Greenville to Grand Glaze*, by O. W. Priddy; and *The History of Educational Legislation in Ohio from 1851 to 1925*, by Nelson L. Bossing.

The Founding of Durango, Colorado, by Mary C. Ayres; *Days of the Cattlemen in Northeastern Colorado*, by J. N. Hall; *Fraeb's Last Fight and How Battle Creek Got Its Name*, by LeRoy R. Hafen; *Frontier Firearms*, by Chauncey Thomas; and *Major Thompson, Chief Ouray and the Utes*, by Thomas F. Dawson, are papers and articles in *The Colorado Magazine* for May.

The *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for April contains the following articles and papers: *The Texas State Convention of Germans in 1854*, by R. L. Bieseke; *History of Fannin County, Texas, 1836-1843*, by Rex Wallace Strickland; part two of *The Consular Service of the Republic of Texas*, by Alma Howell Brown; and an installment of the *Diary of Adolphus Sterne*.

The April issue of *Mid-America* contains the following articles: *Bandelier: Archaeologist of Our Southwest*, by William Stetson Merrill; *An Episode in Quebec-Louisiana History*, by Patrick W. Browne; *Propaganda and the Suppression of the Jesuit Relations*,

by William R. Corrigan; and *Catholic Beginnings in Southeastern Iowa*, by Charles F. Griffith.

Historical Reprints 1830-1930 The Oregon Trail Centennial, edited by Archer Butler Hulbert, has been published as *Sources of Northwest History No. 9*, by the State University of Montana. It contains an introduction, a letter from General Ashley to General Macomb, March 1829; a letter from Joshua Pilcher to J. H. Eaton, 1830; and a joint letter from Jedediah S. Smith, David E. Jackson, and W. L. Sublotte to J. H. Eaton, October, 1830.

A Historical Note on the Boundaries of New Mexico, by P. M. Baldwin; *Apache Misrule*, by John P. Clum; a continuation of *Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos, New Mexico*, by Adolph F. Bandelier; and part two of *The Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century*, by France V. Scholes, are four articles which appear in the *New Mexico Historical Review* for April.

The April issue of *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* contains a continuation of *Excerpts from Executive Journal of Governor Isaac Shelby*; *Limestone, A Gateway of Pioneer Kentucky*, by Eleanor Duncan Wood; *Tandy*, by Henry T. Allen; an installment of *History in Circuit Court Records*; and a continuation of *Revolutionary Soldiers*, compiled by Nina M. Visscher.

The June issue of *Minnesota History* contains *The Early History of Steamboating on the Minnesota River*, by William J. Petersen; *Ralph Waldo Emerson in Minnesota*, by Hubert H. Hoeltje; and *Minnesota as Seen by Travelers—Up the Minnesota Valley to Fort Ridgely in 1853*, edited by Willoughby M. Babcock. Under the heading *Notes and Documents*, there is a communication concerning pioneer life, by John Talman.

The Attainment of Statehood, edited by Milo M. Quaife, has recently been published as Volume XXIX of *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, and Volume IV in the *Constitutional Series*. The volume includes the proclamations and laws relating to statehood, selections from several Wisconsin newspapers, proceedings of Con-

gress, the journal and debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1847-1848, records of votes on roll call in the convention, and biographical sketches of members of the convention of 1847-1848.

Centennial of the Covered Wagon, by Albert Hawkins; *Jane Barnes, First White Woman in Oregon*, by Kenneth W. Porter; *Woolen Mills of Brownsville, 1860-89*, by Alfred L. Lomax; *In Memory of Edgar W. Wright, Historian*, by Henry E. Reed; *University Preparatory School, 1876-1904*, by J. F. Santee; part two of *Early Oregon Scenes: A Pioneer Narrative*, by James D. Miller; and a second installment of *Indian Slavery in Pacific Northwest*, by Elsie F. Dennis, are the articles and papers in *The Oregon Historical Quarterly* for June.

Little Essays on the Police Power, an address by Homer C. Hockett; *The St. Joseph Mission*, by George Paré; *The First English-Speaking Trans-Appalachian Frontier*, by Alfred P. James; *The Lead Traffic on the Upper Mississippi, 1823-1848*, by William J. Petersen; *An Appraisal of the Contributions of George Rogers Clark to the History of the West*, by James Alton James; and *The Dictionary of American Biography*, by M. M. Quaife, are the addresses, articles, and papers in the June number of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. Under *Documents* the number contains *The Diary of Heinrich Egge, a German Immigrant*, edited and translated by Esther Bienhoff.

The Missouri Historical Review for April contains the following papers and articles: *Advisory Constitutional Opinions of the Missouri Supreme Court*, by Buel Leopard Smith; *Some Impressions of Frank P. Blair*, by C. B. Rollins; *Experiences of Lewis Bissell Dougherty on the Oregon Trail*, by Ethel Massie Withers; *Public Opinion and the Inflation Movement in Missouri, 1875-1879*, by J. A. Leach; *John Bradbury, the Earliest St. Louisan of Botanical Note*; and a third installment of *Ducharme's Invasion of Missouri, an Incident in the Anglo-Spanish Rivalry for the Indian Trade of Upper Louisiana*, by Abraham P. Nasatir.

The Oregon Trail Memorial Association is sponsoring the Covered Wagon Centennial, commemorating the departure on April 10,

1830, of the first wagon train from St. Louis bound for Oregon and the birth of Ezra Meeker on December 29, 1830. During the period between these two dates, the sponsors of this centennial celebration hope to arouse an interest in the westward march of the covered wagons one hundred years ago. A high school essay contest is one feature of the program. Marking and charting the trail, promoting interest in historical events, and the erection of a memorial to the pioneers are likewise objectives. *The Covered Wagon Centennial*, by Arthur Chapman, telling the story of the events to be commemorated, has been reprinted from the *New York Herald Tribune* for April 6, 1930.

The March number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* contains a number of papers and articles, among which the following may be listed: *Early Day Courts And Lawyers*, by A. G. C. Bierer; *The Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*, by Joseph B. Thoburn; *The Government of the Creek Indians*, by Ohland Morton; *Early Navigation and Commerce along the Arkansas and Red Rivers in Oklahoma*, by Muriel H. Wright; and *Entertainments of the Spanish Explorers*, by Winifred Johnston. The June issue contains the following articles and papers: *Notes on Perryville*, by Muriel H. Wright; *The Life and Work of Sequoyah*, by John B. Davis; *Jacob Fowler's Journal*, by W. Julian Fessler; a continuation of the *Government of The Creek Indians*, by Ohland Morton; *Fort Towson*, by W. B. Morrison; and *John Chisholm, A Soldier of Fortune*, by Kate White.

The April number of *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* contains a number of articles and documents, among which the following may be listed: *Early Census Tables of Louisiana*, by William Beer; *Mississippi in the Transfer of the Louisiana Purchase*, by Dunbar Rowland; *The Funeral Ceremony of Napoleon in New Orleans*, by A. E. Fossier; and continuations of *Louisiana Politics, 1845-1861*, by James Kimmins Greer; *Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana*, translated by Heloise H. Cruzat; and *Index to Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana*, translated by Laura L. Porteous. *A Criminal Trial Before the Superior Council of Louisiana, May, 1747*, with an introduction by Henry P. Dart; *Documents*

Covering the Criminal Trial of Etienne La Rue, May, 1747, translated by Heloise H. Cruzat; *The Colfax Riot of April, 1873*, by Manie White Johnson; a fifth installment of *Louisiana Politics, 1845-1861*, by James Kimmins Greer; a further installment of *Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana*, by Heloise H. Cruzat; and a continuation of *Index to Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana*, by Laura L. Porteous, are articles and papers in the July number.

IOWANA

The Key City Gas Company of Dubuque has published a booklet entitled *Dubuque — Past, Present and Future*.

A Few Outstanding Iowa Industries, by F. A. Welch, in collaboration with Edward A. Kimball, is an article in the *Midland Schools* for May.

The April issue of the *Annals of Iowa* contains the first installment of *August P. Richter*, by F. I. Herriott; and *The Arbor Day, Park and Conservation Movements in Iowa*, by L. H. Pammel.

Early Algona The Story of Our Pioneers 1854-1874, by Florence C. (Mrs. Gardner) Cowles, has recently been published by the Register and Tribune Company of Des Moines. As the title indicates this is a story of pioneer life in northwestern Iowa.

Dubuque First in Iowa History, by H. G. Langworthy, is one of the articles in *Dubuque Business* for May, 1930. Another article in this number is entitled *City Welcomes New Archbishop*, by A. C. Bordeaux. The archbishop installed was the Most Reverend Francis Joseph L. Beckman.

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Experiments of Professor Nicholas Knight of Cornell College, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, June 15, 1930.

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Cradle of Herbert Hoover found at West Branch, in the *Davenport*

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History of St. Peter's Evangelical Church at Waverly, in the *Waverly Republican*, June 19, 1930.

Life in Iowa in the fifties, by Marshall Rugg, in the *Waterloo Courier*, June 19, 1930.

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HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

Dr. George D. Lyman is preparing a biography, *John Marsh: Pioneer A Trail-Blazer on Six Frontiers*, which will be published by Charles Scribner's Sons this fall. Marsh was sub-agent in charge of the Indians around Prairie du Chien and later lived for a time at Davenport.

The Missouri Historical Society held a meeting at the Chase Hotel at St. Louis, on April 28, 1930, commemorating the Louisiana Purchase. The address of the evening on "The Close of Woodrow Wilson's Administration and the Final Years" was given by the Honorable Bainbridge Colby.

The Illinois State Historical Society held its annual meeting at Springfield, on May 8, 9, 1930. The program included the following papers and addresses: "The Illinois Congressional Delegation and the Currency Question", by L. Ethan Ellis; "John McLean and the County that Bears His Name", by Mrs. Florence Fifer Bohrer; "Judge David Davis", by Harry E. Pratt; "The Make-up of the Early Republican Party", by James Lee Sellers; "Chicago Under the French Regime", by Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan; "Warsaw and Fort Edwards on the Mississippi", by Ruth Cory Aleshire; and "Russell Farnham, Astorian", by Frank E. Brandt.

The Texas State Historical Association held its thirty-third annual meeting at Austin on April 29 and 30, 1930. The program included the following papers and addresses: "Prehistoric Texas", by J. E. Pearce; "The Actual Location of the Tejas Village (San Pedro) and Its Missions in Houston County, Texas", by Albert Woldert; "Social and Economic Conditions of the Texas-Mexicans Before the Industrial Development of the Lower Rio Grande Valley", by Jovita Gonzalez; "The Office of Political Chief in Mexican Texas", by Rhea M. Smith; "A Study of Thomas J. Rusk", by Mrs. Guy Blount; and "Report on County Archives and Local Historical Collections", by J. Evetts Haley.

The Ninth Annual Meeting of the Central Section of the American Anthropological Association was held at the Public Museum of Milwaukee on May 9, 10, 1930. Among the papers and addresses presented were the following: "Race and the Historian", by A. T. Olmstead; "Tentative Plan for the Anthropological Section of the Chicago World's Fair", by Fay-Cooper Cole; "The Hidden Story of the American Indian", by Carl Guthe; "Affinities of Iroquoian to Fort Ancient Culture", by H. C. Shetrone; and "An Indiana Archeological Survey in 1929", by Frank M. Setzler. Under the direction of the Wisconsin Archeological Society those attending the meeting were taken to the Dewey Mounds in Waukesha County, Wisconsin. H. C. Shetrone, director of the Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society, was elected president of the section and Henry Field, of the Field Museum, vice president.

The Eleventh Annual Indiana History Conference was held at Indianapolis on December 13 and 14, 1929. The meeting was sponsored by the Society of Indiana Pioneers, the Indiana Historical Society, and the Indiana Historical Bureau. The following papers and addresses were presented: "Lucius B. Swift", by James A. Woodburn; "Twenty-five Years of the *Indiana Magazine of History*", by William O. Lynch; "The Library and Historical Board", by William M. Taylor; "Francis Vigo", by Dorothy Riker; "The Contribution of the Southern States to the Settlement of Indiana", by Clarence H. Smith; "John Elder, Pioneer Builder", by Kenneth Loucks; "The Vincennes Memorial", by Clem J. Richards; "Spring Mill Village", by E. Y. Guernsey; "The Antiquarian in Contemporary Life", by Clark Wissler; "The Spirit of La Salle", by Ross F. Lockridge; "John W. Davis, Pioneer Politician", by Hope Bedford; "Early Education in Franklin County", by Michael Bossert; "Revising the Constitution", by L. A. Pittenger; "The Ethical Significance of History", by Frederick D. Kershner; "The Story of a Famous Prehistoric Indiana Monument", by Frank M. Setzler; "Solon Robinson", by Herbert A. Kellar; "Americana for the Future", by Emma S. Backus; and "The Romance of the Ohio", by Mrs. W. T. Lafferty.

A number of these articles and papers are printed in the *Indiana History Bulletin* for April, which contains the proceedings of the meeting.

The ninth State historical tour under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society occurred on June 13 and 14, 1930, with sessions at Rochester, Owatonna, Albert Lea, and Fairmont. At Rochester the program included the following addresses and papers: "The Mayo Foundation", by L. C. Wilson; "The Pioneer Doctor", by William J. Mayo; and "Norwegian Pioneering in Southern Minnesota", by Carlton C. Qualey. "Early Stage Routes and Transportation Lines of Early Minnesota", by Arthur J. Larsen; and "Collecting Local History Materials: Some Illustrations", by Theodore C. Blegen, were the two papers presented at Owatonna. At Clark's Grove, Frank E. Balmer read a paper entitled "The Coöperative Movement in the Minnesota Dairy Industry". At Albert Lea, two papers were presented — "Early Milling in Southern Minnesota", by Paul R. Fossum; and "The Journal of Albert Lea", by J. F. Meighen. At Fairmont the program included an address on "The Martin County Historical Society", by Julius E. Haycraft, and two papers — "The Mennonite Colony at Mountain Lake", by Jacob F. Balzer; and "The English Colony in Martin County", by Harry M. Serle.

IOWA

The annual meeting of the Appanoose County Historical Society was held at the Drake Public Library at Centerville on May 31, 1930.

The Lucretia Deering Chapter of the D. A. R. of Osage is making an effort to trace the old stage road from Adams, Minnesota, to Osage, Iowa.

On May 11, 1930, the Hawkeye Natives Society at Burlington rededicated the pioneer cabin in Crapo Park. A number of repairs and additions have been made. John Braunberger is president of the society.

A bronze statue of a Spanish-American war veteran was dedicated at Sioux City on May 30, 1930. It stands in Graceland

Cemetery and was provided by the Major William A. Kirk Post of United Spanish War Veterans.

On June 8, 1930, the Daughters of Union Veterans dedicated a tablet marking the site of Camp Harlan west of Mt. Pleasant, the training camp of the Fourth Iowa Infantry and later of the Twenty-fifth Iowa Infantry. Five members of the Fourth Iowa and two of the Twenty-fifth Iowa were present. Governor John Hammill delivered an address.

On May 11, 1930, the Stars and Stripes Chapter of the D. A. R. at Burlington placed a marker in the Washington school yard commemorating the old plank road between Burlington and Mt. Pleasant. On the same day a marker was dedicated marking the site of the old settlement called Jimtown. C. W. Bond gave the principal address at Jimtown dedication. His subject was "The Old Roads and the New". J. C. Pryor spoke at the Washington school on "Early History of the Plank Road and the Agency Trail".

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Dr. W. L. Alcorn, Washington, Iowa; Mr. Franklin J. Anderson, Clearfield, Iowa; Mr. Geo. T. Baker, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. Frederick L. Baumann, Grinnell, Iowa; Mr. James E. Blake, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. W. R. Branson, West Liberty, Iowa; Mr. J. D. Brownell, Boston, Mass.; Mr. Ernest B. Cameron, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Miss Frances R. Carpenter, Burlington, Iowa; Mrs. Henry M. Carpenter, Monticello, Iowa; Mr. Frank Chacey, Richland, Iowa; Rev. Jas. R. E. Craighead, Creston, Iowa; Dr. Ira N. Crow, Fairfield, Iowa; Miss Ruth Day, Nevada, Iowa; Miss Dorothy M. Ellis, Marshalltown, Iowa; Mr. Rolland W. Esslinger, Jesup, Iowa; Miss Maude E. Felter, Wilton Junction, Iowa; Mr. C. V. Findlay, Fort Dodge, Iowa; Mrs. M. W. Goddard, McGregor, Iowa; Dr. W. C. Goenne, Davenport, Iowa; Mrs. Mae Goldizen, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Geo. T. Gunn, Wall Lake, Iowa; Rev. John Haefner, Muscatine, Iowa; Mr. L. W. Hall, Eldon, Iowa; Mr. Roy W. Hartman, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mr. I. O. Hasbrouck, Jefferson, Iowa; Mr. Homer Hush, Essex, Iowa; Miss Ola E. Huston, Ot-

tumwa, Iowa; Mr. Arthur F. Janssen, Mount Vernon, Iowa; Dr. M. S. Jordan, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. John Kroeplen, Tipton, Iowa; Mr. Paul A. Lagomarcino, Davenport, Iowa; Miss Minnie D. Larson, Brighton, Iowa; Mr. Robt. J. Lichty, Waterloo, Iowa; Mr. Roy L. Little, Cherokee, Iowa; Mr. L. W. Lovell, Monticello, Iowa; Miss Blanche E. McCarty, Brighton, Iowa; Mr. T. George McElroy, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mrs. Agnes McNamara, Winterset, Iowa; Mrs. Madge Y. Macy, Adel, Iowa; Mr. A. B. Meier, Ottumwa, Iowa; Dr. L. A. Miller, North English, Iowa; Mr. F. D. Milligan, Jefferson, Iowa; Mr. George A. Morrell, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mr. R. W. Nebergall, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. J. P. Oberleitner, Bellevue, Iowa; Mr. O. A. Otto, Atlantic, Iowa; Mr. Carl A. Parker, Mason City, Iowa; Mr. Daniel Mason Parker, Fayette, Iowa; Mr. Charles E. Perkins, Burlington, Iowa; Mr. Charles L. Petersen, Dubuque, Iowa; Mr. Geo. B. Phelps, Clinton, Iowa; Mrs. Mary K. Phelps, West Branch, Iowa; Dr. Herbert W. Rathe, Waverly, Iowa; Mr. James R. Rhodes, Newton, Iowa; Miss Jean E. Safley, Guthrie Center, Iowa; Mrs. Matilda Palmer Scheeler, Marshalltown, Iowa; Mr. L. A. Schnekloth, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. J. B. Schwegler, Minden, Iowa; Mr. C. R. Sheaffer, Fort Madison, Iowa; Mr. R. S. Sherwood, Parkersburg, Iowa; Miss E. Edith Shields, Washington, Iowa; Miss Beulah Shinn, Indianola, Iowa; Mr. Chester B. Stevens, Independence, Iowa; Mr. H. C. Swayzee, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Maurice Taylor, Logan, Iowa; Dr. M. H. Thielen, Grundy Center, Iowa; Dr. W. H. Thompson, Winterset, Iowa; Mr. R. F. Torstenson, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Ralph B. Vernon, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mr. R. C. Valentine, Marshalltown, Iowa; Mr. William Vescelius, Britt, Iowa; Mr. E. M. Wentworth, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. E. W. Wischmeier, Burlington, Iowa; Mr. E. B. Woodford, Jr., Sergeant Bluff, Iowa; Mills Leila Anderson, Washington, Iowa; Mr. John E. Byrnes, Brighton, Illinois; Mr. F. C. Cameron, Albia, Iowa; Mr. Clay W. Cowan, Tipton, Iowa; Mrs. Emma L. Gates, Clinton, Iowa; Mr. Fred Groepper, Minden, Iowa; Mr. J. M. Gronstal, Treynor, Iowa; Mr. W. E. Gruver, McGregor, Iowa; Mr. Roy H. Gustafson, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. J. M. C. Hamilton, Fort Madison, Iowa; Mr. J. Frank Harman, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mr. R. E. Killmar, Osceola, Iowa; Mr. C. R. Laughrige, Conroy, Iowa;

Mr. Rob Lee, Sloan, Iowa; Mrs. Leonard Matless, Keokuk, Iowa; Miss Ruth Miller, Marshalltown, Iowa; Mr. James E. Neil, Long Grove, Iowa; Mr. Martin Nelson, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mr. Clark K. Orton, Algona, Iowa; Miss A. Marea Othmer, Muscatine, Iowa; Rev. John Wesley Potter, Oskaloosa, Iowa; Mr. Cary T. Ray, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mrs. J. H. Sams, Clarion, Iowa; Mr. B. N. Swenson, Davenport, Iowa; Rev. H. Sears Thomson, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mr. George W. Williams, Seattle, Washington; and Mr. Howard W. Wood, Keokuk, Iowa. Mr. Sprague Hosford of Monticello, Iowa, has been enrolled as a Life Member.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Emmanuel Lutheran Church of Cook Township, near Odebolt, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary on June 15, 1930. Three of the charter members of this church are still living.

The Immaculate Conception Church at Lansing celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary on June 8, 1930. At the same time, its pastor, Msgr. George Louis Haxmeier, celebrated his fiftieth year of service.

St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church of Fredericksburg, Iowa, has recently celebrated its fortieth anniversary and in commemoration of that event has issued a booklet entitled *History and Constitution of St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church Unaltered Augsburg Confession*.

A portrait of General Philip C. Hanna, for many years in the consular service of the United States, has been presented to Memorial Hall at Waterloo, by his sisters, Mrs. Emily George, Mrs. John Tilier, and Mrs. Frank B. Knapp.

Mrs. Sarah Brewer Bonebright, daughter of the founder of Webster City, died at Webster City on March 26, 1930. She was born on August 27, 1837, and came to Hamilton County in 1848. Her husband, Thomas Bonebright, was a member of the Spirit Lake Relief Expedition in 1857. Mrs. Bonebright and her daughter Harriet wrote *Reminiscences of Newcastle, Iowa*, an interesting story of pioneer life in Hamilton County.

The Iowa Press Association held its fifteenth annual meeting at Des Moines on May 1, 2, and 3, 1930. The address of welcome was given by Harvey Ingham, editor of the *Des Moines Register*, the reply by J. G. Lucas of the *Madrid Register-News*, and the president's address by W. G. Ray of the *Grinnell Herald*. Officers elected for the ensuing year were: president, J. G. Lucas of Madrid; vice president, Don L. Berry of Indianola; treasurer, E. E. Taylor of Traer; and secretary, S. E. Tennant of Colfax.

A joint meeting of three Iowa Associations — the State Association of Economists and Sociologists, the Iowa Historical Association, and the Iowa Political Science Association — was held at Iowa City on May 16 and 17, 1930. The officers elected for the ensuing year by the State Association of Economists and Sociologists were as follows: president, Sidney L. Miller of the University of Iowa; vice president, L. E. Garwood of Coe College; and secretary-treasurer, C. N. Burrows of Simpson College. The Political Science Association elected G. W. Rutherford of Iowa State College, president; C. F. Littell of Cornell College, vice president; and H. C. Cook of Iowa State College, secretary-treasurer. C. E. Payne of Grinnell College was chosen president of the Historical Association; Ethel Jones of Drake, vice president; and Howard Anderson of the University of Iowa, recorder.

CONTRIBUTORS

ABRAHAM P. NASATIR. Born at Santa Ana, California. Received the A. B. degree from the University of California in 1922, the M. A. degree from the same institution in 1923, and the Ph. D. degree in 1926, also from the University of California. Was Native Sons Travelling Fellow in 1924-1925, instructor in history at the State University of Iowa, 1926-1927, assistant professor of history at the State Teachers College, San Diego, California, 1927-1930, and Social Science Research Fellow, 1930-1931. Author of *Jacques D'Eglise on the Upper Missouri*, *Spanish Exploration of the Upper Mississippi*, and *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri*, all in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*; *Ducharme's Invasion of Missouri* in *The Missouri Historical Review*; *Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country During the American Revolution* in *The Journal of the Illinois Historical Society*; and other articles.

MAX H. GUYER. Born at Malvern, Iowa, on November 5, 1905. Grammar school education secured in the public schools of Malvern, Iowa, Cavalier, North Dakota, and Fairfield, Iowa. Graduated from the Fairfield High School in 1922. Received the B. A. degree from Parsons College, June, 1926, and the M. A. degree from the State University of Iowa, June, 1927. Professor of History and Social Science, Palmer College, Albany, Missouri, 1927-1929. Graduate student in public law, Columbia University, 1929-1930.

THOMAS PETER CHRISTENSEN. (See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, April, 1926, p. 168, and July, 1926, p. 496.)

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CAPTAIN DANIEL SMITH HARRIS

On April 5, 1823, a band of forty-three men, women, and children, with three dogs, assembled on the Cincinnati levee. Led by Moses Meeker, an enterprising lead manufacturer and mining prospector, they were prepared to board the keelboat *Colonel Bomford* for the Fever River lead mines eleven hundred miles distant. During the preceding winter they had purchased their supplies, Meeker's outfit alone costing \$7000. Everyone now waited impatiently while the last of the trappings were safely stored in the hold of the keel. Finally all was in readiness, and the last passenger hastily scrambled on board. Flushed and stimulated by an unusually liberal draught of whisky, the habitual prelude to a day's work, each rugged boatman stood nonchalantly at his post on the runway with pole "set", awaiting the signal of the captain or steersman. As the poles (the average keelboat had from eight to fourteen) bit deep into the river bottom the *Colonel Bomford* slipped slowly from its moorings and glided downstream with its hardy passengers. Among them was James Harris and his son, Daniel Smith Harris, a pleasant-faced youth of fifteen.¹

James Harris was a close friend as well as an employee of Moses Meeker. Born in Connecticut in 1777 of an old Massachusetts family whose lineage could be traced back to the handful of Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth Rock on the Mayflower, Harris had emigrated to New York State where he married Abigail Bathrick, a resident of Kort-

¹ *Galena Gazette*, March 17, 1893; Meeker's *Early History of Lead Region of Wisconsin* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. VI, pp. 276-279; Wilkinson's *Recollections of the West and the First Building of Buffalo Harbor* in the *Buffalo Historical Collections*, Vol. V, pp. 176-181.

right, Delaware County. After residing in New York for several years the wanderlust again seized him and he moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, where he remained until the opening of the lead mines attracted him to Galena, Illinois.

The eldest son of James and Abigail Harris, Daniel Smith Harris, or "Smith" Harris as he was generally known, was born at Kortright, New York, on July 24, 1808. Financial difficulties had forced James Harris to withdraw his son from school to join the expedition to the lead mines. Three younger brothers—Robert Scribe, Martin Keeler, and James Meeker—were left behind with their mother until a suitable home could be provided for them. Jackson Harris, the fifth and youngest son, was born at Galena in 1828. Curiously, the four older brothers were all known and called by their middle names, a fact which possibly induced James Harris to give his youngest son only one Christian name.²

To the vigilant and inquiring lad of fifteen the departure of the *Colonel Bomford* must have seemed the merriest kind of a lark. Young Harris saw the boat carried swiftly down the Ohio River, propelled by the sinewy skill of the boatmen. Occasionally, perhaps, he was allowed to take a turn at the poles. Numerous villages dotted the banks of the Ohio River, and newly erected, rough-hewn farmhouses studded the shores. The country became more sparsely populated as the *Colonel Bomford* proceeded up the Mississippi. St. Louis, with its five thousand nondescript inhabitants, was the point of departure for all expeditions destined for the Missouri, the Illinois, or the Upper Mississippi. Quincy, Illinois, boasted one lone settler—John Wood, who subsequently became Governor of Illinois. At Hannibal a solitary backwoodsman promptly deserted his

² *Galena Gazette*, March 17, 1893; Merrick's *Steamboats and Steamboatmen of the Upper Mississippi* in the *Burlington Post*, February 9, 1918.

shack and boarded the *Colonel Bomford* for the lead mines. With the exception of a few government posts and fur trading establishments the country above St. Louis was uninhabited by white men.³

The sluggish and unsatisfactory method of keelboat transportation must have made a deep impression on young Smith Harris. From dawn till dusk the crew toiled up the broad expanse of the Mississippi, sometimes pushing the *Colonel Bomford* with their poles, and at other times pulling it along by means of the brush growing along the bank, called brush-whacking. When these methods were not successful they resorted to warping to stem the swift current. A rope was attached to a tree or anchor some distance ahead. Each boatman would then grasp the rope or warp, as it was called, and walk to the stern, pulling as he went. As each reached the stern he would "break off" and run to the bow for a new grip. The men continued in this fashion until the tree or anchor was reached. This was hard work and progress was so slow that dusk frequently found the boat barely out of sight of the previous night's stop. Occasionally a breeze enabled the *Colonel Bomford* to sail for a few miles but the wind did not shift with the bends of the river and such respites from labor were all too brief.

About seventy miles above the mouth of the Ohio River, the *Virginia*, the first steamboat to reach Fort Snelling, passed the *Colonel Bomford*. Meeker tried to get the *Virginia* to tow his keelboat but her captain, John Crawford, refused because the swift current often brought his boat to a standstill. Despite these difficulties the *Virginia* was able to complete her trip to Fort Snelling, return to St. Louis and reload, and steam northward again before the *Colonel Bomford* reached Fever River. It took thirty-one

³ Beltrami's *A Pilgrimage in Europe and America*, Vol. II, pp. 60-197; *Galena Gazette*, March 17, 1893.

days for Moses Meeker and his companions to travel the four hundred and twenty-five miles from St. Louis to Galena, an average of but thirteen miles a day or less than one mile per hour.⁴

Inspired by the voyage of the *Virginia*, the youthful Harris conceived a strong desire to own and captain a steamboat. A large outlay of capital was required to own such a craft, however, so during the year 1823 he roamed the hills of the mining district with an Indian boy prospecting for lead, a task which he at first pursued with indifferent success. The year after James Harris and his eldest son arrived at Galena, the three younger boys came west to the lead mines to assist their father on his new farm in Jo Daviess County. The produce of the Harris farm found a ready market in a community devoted almost entirely to mining and the returns on their labor must have been as great as that reaped by many of the miners themselves. Even as late as 1836 the need for farmers and farm products caused considerable comment in the lead district.

In 1824 Smith Harris and his brother Scribe prospected together. One Sunday, Smith struck an old deserted shaft in West Galena. He worked it and discovered there one of the richest leads ever found in the region. West Diggings, as his mine was called, soon made him one of the most successful miners in the Fever River district. The two boys took 35,000 pounds of mineral from the first pocket and ultimately 4,000,000 pounds from the mine. They successfully fought off the claim-jumpers who attempted to deprive them of their find, continued in the mining business all their lives, and whenever misfortunes befell them in steamboating relied on their mines to recoup any losses.

⁴ Meeker's *Early History of Lead Region of Wisconsin* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. VI, pp. 277-279; Petersen's *The "Virginia", the "Clermont" of the Upper Mississippi* in *Minnesota History*, Vol. IX, pp. 347-362.

The year 1829 was noteworthy for Daniel Smith Harris. His aggressive character and success had attracted the attention of Captain David G. Bates, one of the best-known steamboat captains on the Upper Mississippi. Heavy lead shipments were being made to St. Louis and when a vacancy occurred in the pilot house of the steamboat *Galena* Captain Bates offered young Harris an appointment as cub pilot, a position which he accepted with alacrity. A little later, when an assistant engineer was needed, Scribe Harris was assigned to the berth. The training which the two boys received under Captain Bates laid the foundation for their future skill and daring in steamboating.⁵

The Black Hawk War brought a lull in river transportation. Only six steamboats dared to enter the lead district in 1832. Stillman's Run threw the entire Upper Mississippi Valley into panic, and Galena, gripped by fear, soon became an armed camp under martial law. Young Harris quickly enlisted as a lieutenant in Captain James W. Stephenson's regiment and was active throughout the war, participating in the decisive battle of Wisconsin Heights. He distinctly heard the Indians sue for peace following this struggle. "About daybreak the next morning", he relates, "the camp was alarmed by the clarion voice of the Prophet, from a hill nearly a mile away. At first, we thought it was an alarm, but soon found that the Prophet wanted peace. Although he was so far distant, I could distinctly hear every word, and I understood enough to know he did not want to fight. The interpreter reported that the Prophet said 'they had their squaws and children with them, and that they were starving, that they did not want to fight any more, and would do no more harm if they were

⁵ *Miner's Journal* (Galena, Illinois), October 3, 1829; *Niles' Weekly Register*, Vol. LXIII (February 18, 1843), p. 388; Merrick's *Steamboats and Steamboatmen of the Upper Mississippi* in the *Burlington Post*, June 5, 1915, February 9, 1918; *Galena Gazette*, March 17, 1893.

allowed to cross the Mississippi in peace.''' The brutal massacre of women and children at Bad Axe a short time later is a dark page in the military annals of the United States. In 1893, two weeks before his death, Captain Harris received a pension for his services during the Black Hawk War.⁶

At the conclusion of the war, Harris decided to build a steamboat of his own. His experience under Captain Bates, his love for the river and the pulsing deck of a steamboat, a fairly substantial income from his mines, and the scarcity of boats in the trade probably induced him to return to steamboating. The sight of the hull of the keelboat *Colonel Bomford* near West Diggings, it is said, prompted him to construct a boat. Scribe was despatched to Cincinnati to purchase an engine and machinery, while Smith busied himself with putting the hull of the keel in shape and fitting it out with a cabin. Scribe discovered an old engine on a scrap-heap on the Cincinnati levee, drove a sharp bargain, and returned in triumph with his prize to Galena. During the winter the two brothers worked on their boat at a point called the Portage, three miles below Galena and about halfway to the mouth of the Fever River. In later years Harris built a canal across this narrow neck of land large enough for the biggest packets to go through. Harris Slough, as this canal is marked today on government charts, is a fitting memorial to the industry and activity of Daniel Smith Harris.⁷

⁶ *The History of Lee County, Iowa* (Western Historical Company, Chicago, 1879), pp. 342-344; *Galena Gazette*, March 17, 1893.

⁷ Merrick's *Steamboats and Steamboatmen of the Upper Mississippi* in the *Burlington Post*, September 9, 1916; *Map of the Mississippi River from the Falls of St. Anthony to the Junction of the Missouri River*. This map was prepared under the direction of Major G. M. Hoffman from maps of the Upper Mississippi River from St. Paul to Grafton based upon maps made under the direction of Major F. U. Farquhar and upon maps of the Mississippi River Commission (1915).

To be the builder and master of a steamboat at the age of twenty-five was no mean accomplishment, and young Harris could well be excused for viewing complacently the newly launched craft. All Galena rejoiced in the honor brought by her enterprising young citizen for it was the first steamboat built in the lead district and probably the first on the Upper Mississippi above Alton. The boat was named the *Jo Daviess* in honor of the county. According to her enrolment at the Port of St. Louis, the *Jo Daviess* was 90 feet 5 inches long, 15¼ inches beam, 2 feet hold, and measured 26 tons. She was a side-wheel boat with a transom stern, had a cabin above deck, and had no figure-head. Her flywheel was made of lead, the metal most accessible to Harris. Of the twenty-two steamboats docked at St. Louis in 1835 the *Jo Daviess* was the smallest, insignificant beside the *Great Mogul* which had a capacity of 700 tons.⁸

Almost as soon as Captain Harris had guided his craft out into the Mississippi he exhibited the audacious and venturesome nature which characterized him to the end. In July, 1834, the *Jo Daviess*, loaded to the guards with troops and military stores, ascended the Wisconsin River as far as the portage, and during the course of the summer she made two more trips to Fort Winnebago. Late that fall Captain Harris took a shipment of lead to St. Louis where he disposed of both cargo and craft and set out for Cincinnati to superintend the construction of a new boat.⁹

Even before the country along the banks of the Mississippi was partially occupied, restless pioneers were beginning to push their way up the tributary streams. Town

⁸ *Enrolment of Vessels* (Collector of Customs Office, St. Louis), No. 21, July 7, 1835; *Galena Gazette*, March 17, 1893; *Missouri Republican*, May 23, 1835, quoted in *Niles' Weekly Register*, Vol. XLVIII (June 19, 1835), p. 250. Merrick declares the *Jo Daviess* was a side-wheeler.

⁹ Merrick's *Steamboats and Steamboatmen of the Upper Mississippi* in the *Burlington Post*, September 9, 1916; *Galena Gazette*, March 17, 1893.

sites began to spring up, and settlers and speculators were anxiously waiting for steamboats. Shallow water, an unknown and deceptive channel, together with sparse settlement, all served to deter most captains from navigating unknown streams. But such obstacles were mere trifles to Captain Harris, and in 1836, two years after the voyage of the *Jo Daviess* up the Wisconsin, he piloted the *Frontier* up the Rock River as far as Dixon's Ferry.¹⁰ This feat was hailed with delight throughout the Upper Mississippi Valley and Captain Harris was granted a lot at each town site along the Rock River by the grateful settlers and owners. In 1850 he piloted the *Dr. Franklin No. 2* up the Chippewa River to the mouth of the Menomonie, carrying goods for the Knapp and Wilson lumber camp on that stream. This was the first steamboat to go so far up the Chippewa and Captain Harris received one hundred dollars for making the trip.¹¹

The first steamboat to enter the Minnesota River had been the *Rufus Putnam* in 1825, with Captain David G. Bates in command, but Harris's old master had ascended only one mile up that stream. In 1850, four excursions had been made up the Minnesota River, and Martin Keeler Harris, a younger brother of Captain Smith Harris, gained the distinction of reaching what is now Judson, in Blue Earth County. The people about St. Paul and in the Minnesota Valley hoped that a steamboat would penetrate still farther and the opportunity came in 1853 when Captain Harris's *West Newton* was selected to carry troops and government stores to the new post which later was named Fort Ridgely. "Of great strength and power, and in the hands of skillful men", observed an editor aboard the *West Newton*, "it was

¹⁰ *Miner's Journal* (Galena, Illinois), July 3, 1830; *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, May 21, 1836.

¹¹ *Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), April 25, 1850.

felt that if there were dangers and difficulties in the way of reaching the destined point, she would be better able to brave them than any other craft known in these waters". Two smaller boats, the *Tiger* and the *Clarion*, were sent ahead but were quickly overtaken and passed by the *West Newton*. "Soldiers and soldiers' baggage — soldiers' wives and soldiers' children — soldiers' stores and soldiers' equipment — soldiers' cattle and soldiers' dogs" were strewn about the *West Newton* from stem to stern. She also shoved a heavily loaded barge. The Minnesota River was at flood stage so the *West Newton* experienced little difficulty in ascending the snaky channel.

A week was required to make the round trip and Captain Harris was warmly praised for the success of the voyage. "His careful, quick, discerning eye, saw everything at a glance, and made all his calculations with a lightning velocity of thought; so that we struck no snags, collapsed no flue, and burst no boiler; though we did tear off the guards, throw down the pipes, and leave the cabin maid's washing of linen 'high and dry' on a tree, which bent down to receive the line." "This trip alone", wrote Harriet E. Bishop, an author who was aboard the *West Newton*, "would entitle Captain Harris to a wreath of fame".¹²

In 1858 Governor Henry Sibley of Minnesota presided at a banquet at St. Paul in honor of Captain Harris. The Governor eulogized the splendid work of Captain Harris in developing Minnesota and the Upper Mississippi Valley, hailing him as the senior commander then active on the upper river. But it was Captain Harris's work as the pioneer navigator of almost every tributary above the Des Moines Rapids that particularly impressed Sibley, and he empha-

¹² *The Minnesotian* (St. Paul), May 7, 1853; Petersen's *Early History of Steamboating on the Minnesota River* in *Minnesota History*, Vol. XI, pp. 123-144; Bishop's *Floral Homes; or, First Years of Minnesota*, pp. 298, 299.

sized the importance of the discovery of the head of navigation on such rivers as the Iowa and Maquoketa in Iowa, as well as the Minnesota River.¹³

After the sale of his first boat, the *Jo Daviess*, Harris acquired the *Hermione* and ran her throughout the season of 1835 when he disposed of her. For the next quarter century Captain Harris commanded almost a score of vessels and probably had a financial interest in as many more. This does not include the craft he became interested in as a member of the Minnesota Packet Company. In quick succession he captained, sometimes for a season, sometimes for only a trip or two, such boats as the *Frontier*, *Smelter*, *Pizarro*, *Pre-emption*, *Relief*, *Sutler*, *Otter*, *War Eagle* (first), *Time*, *Lightfoot*, *Senator*, *Doctor Franklin No. 2*, *New St. Paul*, *West Newton*, *War Eagle* (second), and the *Grey Eagle*. His restless energy was exhibited by his impatience with most of the steamboats he built or purchased. Only five seem to have been satisfactory enough for him to run them two or more seasons, although he ran the historic *Otter* for five years and sold the first and second *War Eagle* and the *Dr. Franklin No. 2* at the close of three seasons. The *West Newton* was snagged at the end of her second year. The *Grey Eagle*, the pride of the Upper Mississippi, served the gallant skipper from 1857 to 1861.¹⁴

To Captain Harris, the *sine qua non* in any steamboat was speed. The sight of a long, lean craft, as sleek and fast as a greyhound, delighted the picturesque skipper. In July, 1836, Harris ran the *Frontier* from St. Louis to Ga-

¹³ *Daily Express and Herald* (Dubuque), April 2, 1858.

¹⁴ Compilation of Mississippi boats prepared by the writer. Merrick's *Steam boats and Steamboatmen of the Upper Mississippi* in the *Burlington Post*, September 13, 1913, to December 6, 1919, is the most complete compilation accessible to the student, and the writer found it invaluable in compiling and checking against his own list which is based largely on contemporary newspapers and Collector of Customs records.

lena in three days and six hours, having stopped between twenty and thirty hours on the way up. The following year he astonished the mining district by making the trip between Dubuque and Cincinnati in the *Smelter* in five days. The return trip was made in exactly the same time.

It was not until 1845, however, that he brought out a boat which easily outraced all rivals. This was the first *War Eagle*, perhaps the swiftest boat to navigate the Upper Mississippi before 1850. She was built at Cincinnati in 1845 and was 152 feet long, 24 feet beam, 4½ feet hold, and measured 155 tons. Competition was exceedingly keen during 1845 and the *War Eagle* steamed back and forth between St. Louis and Galena at a terrific rate of speed, lowering her time each trip. The *St. Croix*, a trim and speedy craft, snapped at the *War Eagle*'s heels for a time but gave up when the *War Eagle* ran from St. Louis to Galena in 43 hours and 52 minutes, a record which stood for many years. Some of the passengers on this trip expressed dissatisfaction with the treatment accorded them. Upon inquiry it was found that Captain Harris was too parsimonious with his meals, since only one dinner had been served on the trip. Further examination revealed that the *War Eagle* had left St. Louis after dinner on Tuesday and had reached Galena before noon on Thursday. The disgruntled passengers were informed that if they were traveling for dinners they would have to take a slower boat than the *War Eagle*.¹⁵

During 1852 the Minnesota Packet Company waged a bitter competitive battle with Captain Harris. Occasional voyages of the St. Louis and Keokuk Packet Company craft also proved annoying. Fearful of this new enemy,

¹⁵ *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, July 9, 1836, March 28, April 25, May 30, 1845; *Iowa News* (Dubuque), June 10, July 15, 1837; *Enrolment of Vessels* (Collector of Customs Office, St. Louis), No. 14, March 5, 1845.

the Minnesota Packet Company took Harris into partnership at the close of the year. When the season of 1853 opened the St. Louis boats again made their appearance. The *Die Vernon* was groomed to run a special excursion to the Falls of St. Anthony as a challenge to the Minnesota Packet Company. Built at St. Louis in 1850 at a cost of \$50,000, the *Die Vernon* was 225 feet long, 31 feet 2 inches beam, 5 feet 9 inches hold, and measured 455 tons. She had over 100 berths and was more than a match for the *West Newton*. Captain Rufus Ford was in command.

The owners of the *Die Vernon* spared no expense to insure a victory. Twenty-five firemen were shipped aboard the *Die Vernon* to keep the boilers red hot and the ever watchful steward had a barrel of old butter — presumably for soap grease — but actually for extra fuel should the emergency arise. The *Die Vernon* left St. Louis on the afternoon of June 13th with her band blaring “Yankee Doodle”. Alton was reached in record time, and a sparkling wake was the answer to every boat which attempted to give her a brush. She reached Galena at dusk on the 15th. Determined to outrace the *Die Vernon* or blow up his boat in the attempt, Captain Harris purchased every bit of tar and rosin in Galena. Wood boats as far north as Winona were pledged to the popular skipper. When the *Die Vernon* backed out of Fever River the *West Newton* followed in her wake “blowing off steam and making more noise than a stalled freight train”. But half the “niggers” on the *Die Vernon* were hanging on the safety valves and she led the *West Newton* to Dubuque where she stopped for a few moments. The *West Newton* continued upstream and was soon out of sight. Captain Harris hoped to maintain the lead to Lake Pepin where a broad stretch of water twenty-two miles long would probably determine which boat was the faster and forecast the winner to St. Paul.

Captain Ford set out in hot pursuit, hoping to catch the *West Newton* before midnight. The *Die Vernon's* twenty-five firemen worked frantically throughout the night, being constantly plied with "whisky toddies to assist them in making steam". Potosi, Cassville, Prairie du Chien, Lansing, Brownsville, La Crosse — and still no *West Newton* in sight. Near Trempealeau, shortly after breakfast, Captain Ford finally sighted the *West Newton*. A bitter race ensued. Trembling under a terrific pressure of steam the *Die Vernon* slowly closed the gap between the boats although her safety valve was on the verge of blowing off. A few scant yards separated them when the *West Newton* landed to take on wood and surrendered the lead to the *Die Vernon*. Harris would still have had a chance to win had not Louis Robert, master of the *Greek Slave* and Harris's bitter enemy, succeeding in securing for the *Die Vernon* a wood boat that had been pledged to the *West Newton*. This was just a short distance above Winona and Captain Harris thus had his line of supply broken at the most crucial point in the race. The *West Newton* overtook the *Die Vernon* while she was towing the wood boat but passengers and crew quickly tossed the fuel aboard and cast the "flat" loose before the *West Newton* was able to forge ahead. The *Die Vernon* maintained her lead into St. Paul.

While he ran a gallant race against a faster boat, Harris took the defeat bitterly and departed from St. Paul without leaving the hurricane deck. The *Die Vernon* made a record run from St. Louis to St. Paul of 84 hours counting all stops. Her time from Dubuque was 28 hours for 265 miles or 9.4 miles per hour upstream. The *West Newton* averaged 9.1 miles per hour upstream from Galena to St. Paul, covering the 288 miles in 31 hours and 46 minutes. She returned to Galena in 21 hours and 7 minutes, aver-

aging 13.7 miles per hour downstream. It is perhaps as well that history does not record the fiery skipper's remarks when he learned how Louis Robert had tricked and probably beaten him.¹⁶

Discouraged at the outcome of his skirmish with the *Die Vernon*, Captain Harris went to Cincinnati at the close of the season and secured the second *War Eagle*. This beautiful and speedy craft led the fleet of boats which carried the famous Rock Island Railroad Excursion of 1854 from Rock Island to the Falls of St. Anthony. But a number of fast steamboats appeared on the Upper Mississippi that year and the *War Eagle* was sometimes forced to surrender the broom to them. This was too humiliating to Captain Harris and he determined to settle the question of speed for all time. His next boat, the *Grey Eagle*, was taken from a wooden model he himself had carved. Launched at Cincinnati in 1857, the *Grey Eagle* was 250 feet long, 35 feet beam, 5 feet hold, and measured 382 tons. She had four boilers, 42 inches by 16 feet. Her cylinders were 22 inches by 7 feet stroke. The wheels were 30 feet in diameter, with 10-foot buckets and 30-inch dip. A large grey eagle was painted on each wheelhouse. Possessed of beauty, speed, and grace, the *Grey Eagle* quickly outstripped her swiftest competitors, wrested the broom from the *Key City*, and became the acknowledged flagship of the Minnesota Packet Company.¹⁷

¹⁶ Merrick's *Steamboats and Steamboatmen of the Upper Mississippi* in the *Burlington Post*, August 15, 22, 1914; *The Minnesotian* (St. Paul), June 18, 25, July 2, 1853; *The Minnesota Democrat* (St. Paul), June 10, July 22, 1853; *The Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), June 3, 1852. The *Light List Upper Mississippi River and Tributaries*, Thirteenth District, Washington, 1930, gives the exact distances between the various ports as surveyed by the United States Engineers. Merrick says that the name of this boat was *Di Vernon*, but the official registration gives the name *Die Vernon*.

¹⁷ *The Daily Pioneer and Democrat* (St. Paul), May 5, 1857; Merrick's *Steamboats and Steamboatmen of the Upper Mississippi* in the *Burlington Post*, October 23, 30, November 6, 1915.

In 1858, Captain Harris performed the most brilliant exploit of his career in his race to St. Paul, carrying the message of Queen Victoria to President James Buchanan congratulating him on the successful laying of the Atlantic cable. At that time the telegraph lines extended to Dunleith and Prairie du Chien and the *Grey Eagle* was scheduled to leave Dunleith at the same time the *Itasca* was leaving Prairie du Chien. Captain Harris determined to celebrate the occasion by beating Captain David Whitten into St. Paul with the news. In order to do this it was necessary to run the *Grey Eagle* 265 miles while the *Itasca* was traveling 200 miles. This was no easy task, since the *Itasca* was a swift boat that had been hanging up records for fast time.¹⁸

When the *Grey Eagle* left Dunleith at 8:30 A. M. on August 17, 1858, she carried copies of the Dubuque and Galena papers containing the Queen's message:

Her Majesty desires to congratulate the President upon the successful completion of the Great International Work in which the Queen has taken the deepest interest.

The Queen is convinced that the President will join her in fervently hoping that the electric cable, which now connects Great Britain with the United States, will prove an additional link between the nations, whose friendship is founded upon their common interest and reciprocal esteem. The Queen has much pleasure in thus communicating with the President, and returning to him her best wishes for the prosperity of the United States.

*Victoria.*¹⁹

Every bit of combustible material — pitch, butter, and grease — that could be obtained was aboard the *Grey Eagle*. The boat responded nobly to the extra fuel, sped

¹⁸ Wilson's *Telegraph Pioneering in The Palimpsest*, Vol. VI (November, 1925), pp. 373-393; *Daily Express and Herald* (Dubuque), August 17, 1858; *Light List Upper Mississippi and Tributaries*, Thirteenth District, Washington, 1930.

¹⁹ *Daily Minnesotian* (St. Paul), August 20, 1858.

swiftly up Maquoketa Chute, past Cassville, Guttenberg, Prairie du Chien, La Crosse, and reached Winona, one hundred and fifty miles above Dunleith, at about 9:30 P. M. The *Itasca* had arrived just three and one-half hours before, so that her nine hour lead had been reduced by almost two-thirds despite the fact that the *Grey Eagle* had towed a wood flat for twenty miles. After a twenty minute delay at Winona the *Grey Eagle* continued upstream, so far ahead of schedule that Captain Harris ordered a deck hand to stand on the stage and heave the mail to the bank as the boat went by at half speed. Freight was discharged only where necessary and many of the passengers, induced by a generous offer of free meals and berth and moved by a desire to be a party to what already promised to be a record-breaking run, agreed to remain on board.

At 4 A. M. the next day, the *Grey Eagle* came snorting up to the Red Wing levee, sixty-five miles above Winona and only fifty miles from St. Paul. The *Itasca* had not stopped at Red Wing, thereby gaining several precious minutes on Captain Harris's boat. Fire brands streamed from the funnels of the *Grey Eagle* as she continued upstream, past Cannon River, Vermilion Slough, Sturgeon Lake, Diamond Bluff, and on to Prescott at the mouth of the St. Croix. The *Itasca* blew for Hastings, just two and one-half miles away, as the *Grey Eagle* came up to the Prescott levee. Mail and freight were dumped pell mell on the levee, and the boat whisked by Point Douglas and over to Hastings in time to see the smoke of the *Itasca* disappear around the bend of the river about two miles upstream.

When Captain Whitten discerned the smoke of a racing boat hard astern it did not take that shrewd Yankee long to guess the reason for this haste. He promptly ordered the engineer to crowd on every pound of steam possible.

Just below Pine Bend the astonished master of the *Itasca* saw the *Grey Eagle* poke her nose around a curve a mile away, running almost ten hours ahead of her regular schedule. At Merrimac Island the distance was reduced to three-quarters of a mile, at Newport a half mile intervened, Red Rock found the *Grey Eagle* a hundred yards closer. Kaposia, Pig's Eye, Dayton Bluff, and a boat's length separated the two boats. One mile further and they would be in St. Paul.

The frenzied passengers and crew of the *Grey Eagle* cheered madly as the gap slowly closed and the bow of their boat drew abreast of the *Itasca's* stern. But the latter had the inside track and in the next quarter of a mile it was clear that Captain Harris could not hope to reach the levee first. In the succeeding minute, the two boats drew almost neck to neck, with whistles blowing and cannon booming, but the *Itasca* nosed into the wharf first and her crew commenced putting out the stage. The *Grey Eagle* glided along side with a deck hand perched on the swinging stage, a number of papers fastened into the notch of an arrow of wood. The next instant they were cast into the arms of Harris's agent on the dock. Captain Harris made the run from Dunleith to St. Paul in 24 hours and 40 minutes, making 23 landings, and taking on 35 cords of wood en route. His average speed, counting all stops, was a fraction over eleven miles an hour upstream but the *Grey Eagle* probably ran thirteen miles an hour while under way. This was the fastest time ever made by a steamboat and eclipsed the *Die Vernon's* record of 1853 by over three hours.²⁰

²⁰ *Daily Express and Herald* (Dubuque), August 17, 20, 21, 1858; *The Dubuque Daily Times*, August 21, 1858; *National Democrat* (La Crosse, Wisconsin), August 24, 1858; *The Winona Republican*, August 25, 1858; *Red Wing Republican*, August 20, 1858; *Transcript* (Prescott, Wisconsin), August 21, 1858; *Daily Minnesotian* (St. Paul), August 19, 20, 1858; *St. Paul Daily Times*, August 19, 1858.

When the *Grey Eagle* was shifted to the St. Louis and St. Paul trade, Captain Harris was promptly challenged by Captain Scott Matson of the *Hannibal City*. The ensuing match, according to an observer, was the "fastest, closest, and most exciting race ever run on the upper Mississippi". Leaving St. Louis half an hour ahead of the *Grey Eagle*, the *Hannibal City* beat Captain Harris's boat into Keokuk by a few minutes. In exact running time, however, the *Grey Eagle* made the trip in 15 hours and 40 minutes, a record that stands to this day.²¹

Besides these colorful races, Captain Harris established other records for fast time. The first *War Eagle* sped from Galena to St. Louis in 33 hours while the *Grey Eagle*, in 1858, made the run from St. Paul to Galena in 21 hours and 15 minutes. Although the latter was 8 minutes slower than the *West Newton's* time in 1853, the *Grey Eagle* laid over 50 minutes at both Prairie du Chien and La Crosse and stopped an average length of time at all other landings. Her time would therefore appear to be considerably better. Both these marks were considerably better than that of the *Key City* which ran from St. Paul to Dubuque in an even 21 hours. The *Key City's* record of 25 hours and 38 minutes between Dubuque and St. Paul also pales before the *Grey Eagle's* time of 24 hours and 40 minutes. Moreover, at the same time that the *Key City* made this record, in May, 1858, the *Grey Eagle* slashed it by steaming from Dubuque to St. Paul in 24 hours and 11 minutes. This feat probably induced Captain Harris to make his race against time with Queen Victoria's message. Late in 1850 the *Dr. Franklin No. 2* made the run from Galena to St. Paul by way of Stillwater in 34 hours elapsed time. Since the round trip from Prescott to Stillwater was 47

²¹ Merrick's *Steamboats and Steamboatmen of the Upper Mississippi* in the *Burlington Post*, November 6, 1915.

miles the *Dr. Franklin No. 2* made considerably better time than did the *West Newton* in her race against the *Die Vernon*.²²

The opening of navigation was a big event in the life of every river town, large or small. Isolated throughout the long winter months from trade and regular communication with the country below, with only fragmentary news despatches trickling through from the outside world, each embryonic frontier community hailed with enthusiasm that captain who could bring his craft into port first and the event remained the topic of the day for weeks. Later, in the fifties and sixties, the larger towns granted free wharfage during the ensuing year to the first arrival, an item of no mean significance. The captain who gained this laurel was always certain of added popularity.

The *ultima thule* of spring navigation was St. Paul, situated at the head of navigation on the Upper Mississippi. From 1844 to 1861 inclusive, Captain Harris battered his way through ice-choked Lake Pepin seven times to win the much sought laurel. No other steamboat captain could approach this astonishing performance. When one recalls that a score of steamboats sometimes lay at the foot of the lake waiting for the ice to go out, this feat becomes all the more unique.

In 1844 Harris was the first captain to arrive at St. Paul, reaching the city with the *Otter* on April 6th. He repeated this performance in 1845 with the same boat, and, curiously enough, on the same date. In 1848, the *Senator* was first, arriving on April 7th. The following year the *Dr. Franklin No. 2*²³ arrived on April 9th, while in 1853 the *West*

²² *Galena Daily Advertiser*, May 18, 1849; *Galena Advertiser*, June 21, 1859; *The Morning Sun* (Dubuque), June 22, 1859; *The Minnesotian* (St. Paul), June 25, 1853; *Daily Express and Herald* (Dubuque), May 6, August 21, 1858; *The Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), August 15, 1850.

²³ Blakeley, basing his statement on data received from Philander Prescott,

Newton led the way to St. Paul with a considerable number of passengers and a large freight cargo. Two years later the *War Eagle* dashed into port with colors flying and cannons roaring while all St. Paul turned out to greet the gallant skipper. His last victory was hung up in 1858, when the *Grey Eagle* came screeching up past Pig's Eye on the 25th of March, the earliest arrival on record. His nearest rivals at this wild sport of playing checkers with frozen ice-cakes were Orrin Smith and John Atchison. Both managed to gain the laurel twice during this period, a record which pales before the seven victories hung up by Captain Harris. A list of the steamboats which arrived first at St. Paul for the years 1844 to 1861 follows:

<i>Captain</i>	<i>Boat</i>	<i>Date of Arrival</i>	<i>River Closed</i>
D. S. Harris	Otter	April 6, 1844	Nov. 23
D. S. Harris	Otter	April 6, 1845	Nov. 26
John Atchison	Lynx	March 31, 1846	Dec. 5
J. Throckmorton	Cora	April 7, 1847	Nov. 29
D. S. Harris	Senator	April 7, 1848	Dec. 4
D. S. Harris	Dr. Franklin No. 2	April 9, 1849	Dec. 7
John Atchison	Highland Mary	April 9, 1850	Dec. 4
Orrin Smith	Nominee	April 4, 1851	Nov. 28
Orrin Smith	Nominee	April 16, 1852	Nov. 18
D. S. Harris	West Newton	April 11, 1853	Nov. 30
Russell Blakeley	Nominee	April 8, 1854	Nov. 27
D. S. Harris	War Eagle	April 17, 1855	Nov. 20
M. E. Lucas	Lady Franklin	April 18, 1856	Nov. 10
W. H. Laughton	Galena	May 1, 1857	Nov. 14
D. S. Harris	Grey Eagle	March 25, 1858	Nov. 16
Jones Worden	Key City	April 20, 1859	Nov. 29
John Cochrane	Milwaukee	March 28, 1860	Nov. 23
N. F. Webb	Ocean Wave	April 8, 1861	Nov. 26

The opening of navigation in 1849 was peculiarly dra-

the Indian interpreter at Fort Snelling, says the *Highland Mary* arrived first in 1849, but the *Minnesota Pioneer* of April 28, 1849, credits the *Dr. Franklin No. 2* with the victory.

matic. Fettered for nearly five months by ice-locked Lake Pepin, the tiny settlement about St. Paul anxiously awaited the arrival of the first steamboat. During the winter, mail had been brought up occasionally by dog or horse train but the news was already old. Late in January word of the election of Zachary Taylor had arrived and it was hoped that the first steamboat would bring word of the creation of the Territory of Minnesota. Some concern was also felt over the appointment of the first Territorial Governor. The afternoon of April 9, 1849, was pleasant, the river was clear of ice, but still no steamboat had yet appeared at the St. Paul wharf.

But Captain Harris was nearing St. Paul with the *Dr. Franklin No. 2* loaded with immigrants who watched with awe a violent thunderstorm that had begun at dusk. As the steamboat rounded the bend a vivid flash of lightning revealed her presence to those ashore. "In an instant the welcome news flashed like electricity, throughout the town. All were on the *qui vive*, and regardless of the pelting rain, the raging wind, and the pealing thunder, almost the entire male population rushed to the landing—hundreds clustered on the shore unmindful of the storm as the fine steamboat *Dr. Franklin No. 2* dashed gallantly up to the landing."

The moment the boat's stage touched the shore the news-hungry "boarders" scrambled up, brushing aside the deck hands and immigrants who were about to come ashore. Captain Daniel Smith Harris and his officers were the men of the hour. According to an observer "the barkeeper had need of the arms of Briareus, the eye of Argus, and the tongues of Rumor, to satisfy the demands, made upon him. At length the news was known and one glad shout resounding through the boat, taken up on shore, and echoed from our beetling bluffs and rolling hills, proclaimed that the

Bill for the organization of Minnesota Territory had become a law."²⁴

Spring navigation implies an open river to the rear. But steamboating at the close of the season was usually more hazardous because of the danger of being caught in the vise-like jaws of a freezing river. Should this take place the boat must be left behind, and the men return overland. Captain Harris exhibited his usual skill and daring at this novel gamble with winter. On November 15, 1836, he steamed out of Fever River with the *Science*, the last boat to depart that year. In 1840 the *Otter* left Galena on November 25th and the following year the same sturdy little craft buffeted her way out of frozen Fever River on November 22nd. This feat, together with her arrival first at the St. Paul levee in 1844 and 1845, gives the *Otter* and her daring master a singularly unique record.

In 1845 Captain Harris lost an exciting race with the ice and was forced to run the first *War Eagle* into winter quarters near Rock Island. Three years later Lake Pepin almost caught the *Senator* in its hoary paw. "Ten years ago, the eleventh of this month", relates the *Glencoe Register* of November 24, 1858, in commenting on this incident, "navigation closed on the Mississippi above the foot of Lake Pepin. Franklin Steele, Esq., who at that time supplied most of the then Territory of Minnesota with goods and provisions, had a whole cargo frozen up on the 9th at the head of Lake Pepin, in the old steamer Senator, Capt. Harris. It was with the utmost difficulty that the Senator worked her way through the Lake on the 10th".²⁵

²⁴ *The Daily Pioneer and Democrat* (St. Paul), November 18, 1858; Blakeley's *History of the Discovery of the Mississippi and the Advent of Commerce in Minnesota* in the *Minnesota Historical Society Collections*, Vol. VIII, p. 413; *The Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), April 28, 1849; *The Herald* (Dubuque), December 21, 1866.

²⁵ *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, December 3, 1836, November

The last trip of the season presented many dangers and hardships. It was difficult to secure a full crew to make the trip and fabulous wages were often paid because the extremely rigorous climate and the possibility of returning on foot through a desolate, Indian-infested, snow-covered country deterred all but the adventurous. But merchants and travelers were usually glad to pay double and triple the usual rates on the last trip of the season, and captains often made an extra profit. On one occasion the Minnesota Packet Company learned that a large amount of freight still remained on the upper river and sent Captain Harris to get it. Although he was ready to put the *War Eagle* into winter quarters and was incensed because some other captain had not been despatched, Harris steamed out of Fever River and proceeded up the Mississippi in the face of a biting wind. He refused to be governed by the prevailing tariff rates, however. "Now you keep your hands off", he declared to the Packet officials on departing, "and I'll make some money this trip".

The *War Eagle* reached Hastings, Minnesota, but an ice-locked river ahead and a rapidly freezing river below forced him to turn back. Freight and passengers were found in abundance at almost every port, the hoarse whistle of the *War Eagle* on the cold, frosty air sounding a cheerful note to belated passengers and shippers. Four days after her departure the *War Eagle* came shivering up the Fever River. Upon boarding the boat to extend their congratulations, the Packet officials found Captain Harris gloomy and disconsolate. Inquiry finally revealed that Harris had set out to make \$10,000 on the trip and had "cleaned up only \$9,700". It was his failure to reach his goal and establish a record and not the loss of a few hun-

24, 1841, February 17, 1846; *Tri-Weekly Galena Gazette and Advertiser*, January 9, 1844. Minnesota Territory was not legally created until March, 1849.

dred dollars which wounded the pride of the ambitious captain.²⁶

Despite the fact that he had bitterly denounced Captain Harris and the Minnesota Packet Company, a hostile editor could not refrain from paying a tribute to the popular skipper. "The steamer War Eagle", notes the *Winona Republican* of November 24, 1858, "came up as far as La Crosse on last Friday morning, having on board a large quantity of goods, and a considerable number of passengers, for Winona, and towns in the interior, but her captain (A. T. Kingman) being somewhat afraid of the floating ice, would not proceed any further. Her cargo was accordingly discharged at La Crosse. If the War Eagle had been in command of the resolute Captain Harris, the ice of last Friday morning would not have prevented *him* from making this port".

Known and beloved for his skill and daring throughout the Upper Mississippi Valley, Captain Harris seldom let his enthusiasm interfere with the stern reality of steamboating. His boats were steady and dependable and pioneers placed the utmost faith and reliance in his work. "Last night we came upon a shoal but we didn't stick", wrote a belated traveler aboard the *Dr. Franklin No. 2* in November, 1849. "The boat walked right over on stilts. The chandeliers rattled as though we were stumbling over the hump of an earthquake. Woke at 6 and found the Franklin in bed with the Yankee under a lee bluff. The Franklin was discharging upon the Yankee a few bbls of pork. . . . The Franklin pays her wood bills in pork".²⁷

In 1841 the *Otter* made fifteen trips from Galena to St. Louis, towing nine keelboats up the river during the sea-

²⁶ Merrick's *Steamboats and Steamboatmen of the Upper Mississippi in the Burlington Post*, November 1, 1919.

²⁷ *The Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), November 8, 15, 1849.

son. At its close, the receipts were found to be \$15,000 from freight and \$7000 from passengers. Her small size and light draught enabled the *Otter* to ply the Mississippi at all seasons of the year, so that when navigation closed she had cleared an amount equal to over four times her value. During 1842, Captain Harris made eleven trips with the *Otter*, towed six keelboats, and cleared \$13,000 on freight and passengers. During 1843, a rate war developed and freight was carried for less than half the price of former years. Nineteen times during the season, the *Otter* forced her way out of Fever River with her keels and lower deck creaking under the heavy lead freight and with passengers crowding the upper decks. When the boat was laid up for the winter in the slough near Galena, her profits for the season were found to be only \$6000 on freight and \$4000 on passengers. Had the rates of 1841 been in force, Captain Harris would have cleared close to \$30,000, while a profit of almost \$45,000 would have resulted from the low water rate of 1839.²⁸

When the lead traffic waned, Harris sought other sources of revenue. No other form of diversion brought more enjoyment and better returns than a trip to the Falls of St. Anthony, designated by George Catlin as the "Fashionable Tour". Early in May, 1837, Harris informed citizens of Galena, Dubuque, and Belmont, that he would make a trip to the Falls of St. Anthony in the *Smelter* if a sufficient number of passengers presented themselves. Realizing that tourists would patronize only those boats which offered the best facilities, Harris had built private state-rooms in the *Smelter*, a speedy side-wheeler launched at Cincinnati in the spring of 1837. The boat was described as the fastest, most luxurious, and largest craft on the Upper Mississippi, and the colorful skipper "greatly de-

²⁸ *Senate Documents*, 28th Congress, 1st Session, Document 242, p. 8.

lighted in her speed, decorated her gaily with evergreens, and (when) rounding to at landings, or meeting with other boats, fired a cannon from her prow to announce her imperial presence". Each new boat had some innovations. Thus, the *Pizarro*, built in 1839 at a cost of \$16,000, boasted a fire engine and hose attached to her main engine.²⁹

Increasing competition in the excursion trade forced captains to offer more inducements to passengers each year. Captain Harris realized the necessity of allowing a sufficient length of time at historic spots and apprised the citizens of Dubuque of an excursion to the Falls of St. Anthony in an announcement which included the following:

The War Eagle is a new and Splendid Boat, and will be two weeks making the trip. Capt. Harris intends to make a pleasure excursion in *reality*, and will stop at all places of curiosity or amusement as long as the passengers may desire. A Band of Music will be on Board. Strangers and Travelers will have a fine opportunity of visiting one of the most beautiful and romantic countries in the world. *For Freight or Passage, apply on board.*³⁰

His activity in the lead traffic and excursion trips, together with the profits derived from the Indians, the missionaries, the fur traders, and the soldiers, gave Harris a preëminent position among his fellow steamboatmen. By 1840 he and his brother Scribe were sole owners of the *Otter* and possessed a large interest in the *Pre-emption* which Scribe commanded. The firm of Glasgow, Shaw, & Larkins of St. Louis and Block and McCune of Louisiana, Missouri, shared with the Harris brothers in the earnings of the *Pre-emption*.³¹ Supported by such well-known mer-

²⁹ *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, April 22, May 13, 1837, April 22, 1839; Folsom's *Fifty Years in the Northwest* (St. Paul, 1888), p. 689; *Enrolment of Vessels* (Collector of Customs Office, Cincinnati), No. 20, March 27, 1839.

³⁰ *Miners Express* (Dubuque), June 25, 1845.

³¹ *Enrolment of Vessels* (Collector of Customs Office, Cincinnati), Nos. 14

cantile houses, Captain Harris had little to fear when competition threatened.

It was not long, however, before Captain Harris gained the enmity — and also the wholesome respect — of Hercules L. Dousman, the agent for the American Fur Company at Prairie du Chien. Fearful of Harris's aggressive character, Dousman often wrote Henry Sibley, his associate at Mendota, urging him to trade with such captains as Joseph Throckmorton or John Atchison. When the steamboat *Lynx* sank in 1844, Captain Harris expressed a desire to acquire a share in her when raised. "I believe it is the best thing we can do", wrote the cautious Dousman to Sibley, "provided he comes in on the *same terms* as we do & makes up our share of the loss — that is the amt we will be deficient on the Boat to be added to what she will sell for at auction & each party take half — say Harris half, Steele & you one sixth — Brisbois same & me the same". Such a plan evidently did not appeal to Captain Harris for he remained outside the circle and continued to ply in the St. Peter's trade in opposition to the American Fur Company boats. When Throckmorton proposed that a line be formed between St. Louis and Mendota, Dousman wrote Sibley: "I am in favor of it & shall encourage him to do so, as it will be a benefit to the Outfit & hurt the Harris's which I desire very much."³²

The sinking of the *Argo* in the fall of 1847 had led to the formation of the Minnesota Packet Company. During the following winter Captain M. W. Lodwick went to Cincinnati, Ohio, with clerk Russell Blakeley and purchased the *Dr. Franklin*. Built at Wheeling, Virginia, in 1847, the

and 16, March 10, 17, 1844; *Enrolment of Vessels* (Collector of Customs Office, St. Louis), No. 25, March 17, 1844.

³² Letters from Hercules L. Dousman to Henry Hastings Sibley, May 3, November 20, 1844, March 30, May 9, 1845, in *Sibley Papers*, in possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

new boat was 156 feet long, 24 feet beam, 4 feet 2 inches hold, and measured 149 tons. Her original owners were Orrin Smith and B. H. Campbell [of the firm of Campbell and Smith], Henry Corwith, M. W. Lodwick, and Russell Blakeley, while H. L. Dousman, Brisbois, and Rice, and H. H. Sibley acquired shares in her a little later. From this humble beginning there gradually evolved through a series of kaleidoscopic changes the Northwestern Union Packet Company, the greatest monopoly on the Upper Mississippi.³³

Meanwhile Captain Harris had been running his boats on the Upper Mississippi and its tributaries. The heavy lead traffic between Galena and St. Louis engaged most of his time but when lead was scarce he often plied on the Mississippi and its tributaries as far north as St. Peter's and Stillwater. In the spring of 1848, however, when Harris withdrew from the lead trade the Packet Company insisted that he remain on the lower river. Highly incensed, Harris took up arms against the new group, running the *Senator* in opposition to the *Dr. Franklin*. After a spirited contest, in which business was "lively, if not profitable", Harris agreed to sell the *Senator* to the Packet Company and remain in the lead trade during 1849.

The creation of the Territory of Minnesota on March 3, 1849, and its attendant influx of immigrants lent a new aspect to the situation and Captain Harris determined to return to the St. Paul trade. The ink on the new bill had hardly dried when Captain Harris appeared at the Galena levee with the *Dr. Franklin No. 2*. She was built at Wheeling in 1848 by Captain John McClure, 173' x 26' 6" x 4' 4", and measured 189 tons. She was a finer, better, and speed-

³³ *Enrolment of Vessels* (Collector of Customs Office, St. Louis), No. 33, March 16, 1848; Blakeley's *History of the Discovery of the Mississippi and the Advent of Commerce in Minnesota* in the *Minnesota Historical Society Collections*, Vol. VIII, pp. 381-388; *Dubuque Herald*, May 3, 1866.

ier boat than either the old *Doctor Franklin* or the *Senator* and Captain Harris took a special delight in tormenting and annoying his opponents. Upon leaving a port he would run alongside his rival, allowing passengers and crew to fling taunts at those aboard the slower craft. As the next port hove in sight he would dash ahead and pick up the lion's share of the freight and passengers offered. Since the *Senator* was an exceptionally slow boat she lost much trade, the fickle public generally preferring the faster craft.³⁴

The "*Old Doctor*", however, was almost a match for the *Dr. Franklin No. 2* and Captain Harris usually had to keep the *Dr. Franklin No. 2* in fine trim in order to hold his advantage. Once, in May of 1851, while these two boats were engaged in tearing up the river bed in a port to port race to St. Paul, Captain Harris found himself hard pressed to maintain his lead. Indeed, when no freight or passengers were offered, he was several times obliged to swing out the stage and discharge a willing and nimble passenger while his boat was moving under a slow bell.

Noting that his rival's boat lacked her usual speed, Captain M. W. Lodwick rang for a full head of steam and momentarily threatened to pass the *Dr. Franklin No. 2*. Captain Harris frustrated these attempts at first by swinging the stern of his craft across the path of the "*Old Doctor*", forcing her to reverse to avoid a collision. Once the two *Dr. Franklins* almost crashed, skillful piloting and full speed astern on the part of the "*Old Doctor*" alone preventing a catastrophe. Incensed by these persistent and well-nigh successful attempts to wrest the lead from him,

³⁴ *Enrolment of Vessels* (Collector of Customs Office, St. Louis), No. 44, April 4, 1849; Blakeley's *History of the Discovery of the Mississippi and the Advent of Commerce in Minnesota* in the *Minnesota Historical Society Collections*, Vol. VIII, pp. 381, 382; *The Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), May 2, August 1, 15, 1850.

Captain Harris sprang from the pilot house to the hurricane deck brandishing a rifle, forced the pilot of the "*Old Doctor*" to back into the brush, and threatened to shoot if another attempt was made. His rash act and refusal to give way was bitterly denounced in the St. Paul press in a statement signed by those aboard the "*Old Doctor*".³⁵

For three years this bitter, ruinous struggle between the Minnesota Packet Company and Captain Harris continued. Both sides had loyal friends and the fight was not confined to the participants, for merchants and settlers from Galena to St. Paul joined in the fray. Rates were reduced to a ridiculous figure, travelers often paying fifty cents for passage from Galena to St. Paul. "The boats continue to come loaded with passengers", declared the *Minnesota Pioneer* of July 22, 1852, "many of them seeking only recreation. Boats are crowded down and up. Some travel for the sake of economy and save the expense of tavern bills at home. Who that is idle would be caged up between walls of burning brick and mortar; in dog-days, down the river, if at less daily expense, he could be hurried through the valley of the Mississippi, its shores studded with towns and farms, flying by islands, prairies, woodlands, bluffs — an ever varied scene of beauty, away up into the lands of the wild Dakota, and of cascades and pine forests, and cooling breezes?"³⁶

³⁵ *The Minnesota Democrat* (St. Paul), May 27, 1851.

³⁶ *The Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), July 1, 22, 29, 1852; Blakeley's *History of the Discovery of the Mississippi and the Advent of Commerce in Minnesota* in the *Minnesota Historical Society Collections*, Vol. VIII, pp. 388, 389. The following is typical: "The West Newton and the Nominee, both crowded with passengers arrived at St. Paul Tuesday night, at about the same minute, in a strife all the way up. The old Nominee tucked up her petticoats and the way she did leg it through, kept the West Newton at the top of her speed. We regret that this competition is reaching to such a pitch — or in fact that it should reach *any* pitch. Let the lines both live and work at fair prices, without any such strife. It will be better and safer for them and the public".

Both sides finally saw that there was plenty of business for both, that hundreds were enjoying transportation for 50 cents a trip, when \$8.00 would have offered a fair return, and that continuance of the competition would result in utter ruin. Fully aware of the value of Captain Harris's coöperation, the Minnesota Packet Company invited him to join them, and shortly afterwards the name of Daniel Smith Harris was listed as a director. Had the fighting skipper failed in this struggle he would have been forced out of the St. Paul trade and ultimately been driven from the Upper Mississippi. Luckily, a steady income from his lead mines tided him through several bad seasons.³⁷

Despite his affiliation with the Minnesota Packet Company Captain Harris continued to manifest his extreme individuality. In 1856 a rate war arose between the Packet Company and the large number of "wild boats" which plied the Upper Mississippi. As usual a number of cities and individuals promptly joined in the struggle, Winona being particularly vigorous in its opposition to the monopoly. The *Tishomingo* was purchased to run between Dunleith and Winona. In the hope that his popularity would soothe any ill-feelings arising out of the competition, Cap-

³⁷ *Daily Express and Herald* (Dubuque), January 15, 1859. The following list of the freight and passenger tariffs on the river boats for 1858 and 1859 was given in *The Weekly Pioneer and Democrat* (St. Paul), April 21, 1859:

From Galena, Dubuque, and Dunleith to

	Passenger fare		Freight per hundred	
	1858	1859	1858	1859
McGregor and Prairie du Chien.....	\$3.00	\$2.50	\$.20	\$.10
Lansing	3.50	2.75	.22	.15
La Crosse	4.50	3.50	.25	.15
Dacotah and Trempealeau.....	4.50	3.75	.26	.15
Winona	5.00	4.00	.27	.15
Fountain City	5.50	4.50	.28	.15
Reed's Landing	6.00	5.00	.30	.15
Red Wing	7.00	5.50	.31	.20
Prescott and Hastings.....	7.50	5.75	.33	.20
St. Paul	8.00	6.00	.35	.20

tain Harris was chosen to run his *War Eagle* against the *Tishomingo*. A test soon came which the fiery captain provoked himself.

One day the *War Eagle* came over from Dubuque to Dunleith and in landing tore away a portion of the guard of the *Tishomingo* which lay taking on freight and passengers. Standing on the hurricane deck unmoved by the incident, Captain Harris calmly announced that passage to Winona aboard his boat would cost but fifty cents. These two acts drew a storm of protest, La Crosse and Dubuque joining with Winona against the Galena monopoly. "Don't travel on the Galena boats unless you make a positive bargain before hand, and to avoid being swindled don't travel with them at all", declared a paper, after three men had been charged \$4.00 each for passage between La Crosse and Winona. About the same time the *War Eagle* landed one hundred barrels of flour on the Winona levee and Captain Harris instructed his agents to "sell it if they could, and if they could not dispose of it, to start a Bakery!" "The offer to carry freight on board the foul bird of prey War Eagle for a trifle was promptly refused by our business men, stating to the runner that they would give all their trade to the *Tishomingo*", observed *The Winona Republican* of May 20, 1856. "The opposition", it continued, "is not alone against our boat, but is against the merchants — our best class of men, who have for years been building up a trade — and now that they are commencing to reap the fruits of their labors, Galena comes in Eagle-eyed for a large share of what is justly the due of our dealers." It was generally felt that the "*noble Tish*" could not be driven away by the *War Eagle*, even by offers to carry goods at 10 cents per hundred. Despite Winona's slogan that the *War Eagle* "shall and will not be patronized", despite the fact that 25 barrels of flour which the *War Eagle*

landed at the levee were destroyed and 50 others rolled in the river and damaged, Captain Harris retained his old time fame and popularity.³⁸

It was not merely while in the pursuit of business that Captain Harris exhibited a pugnacious spirit. Hailed by the press for their gentlemanly deportment, one might readily assume that steamboat captains had acquired their cultural training at the Court of St. James before applying for their license. Such an assumption would be entirely erroneous. As chief architect and builder of an empire in the Middle Border, the steamboat captain was a component part of the frontier where men were men first, and sometimes, though perhaps not always, gentlemen afterwards. In the ordinary civilities of his profession Captain Harris was doubtless equal to any other man on the Upper Mississippi, but he had a fiery temper and he was especially vindictive to those who persisted in attacking him.

During 1857 the editor of the *St. Paul Daily Pioneer and Democrat* had made bitter recriminations against the Packet Company. One hot day in July, W. A. Croffut, the assistant editor of the *St. Paul Daily Times*, a paper friendly to Harris and the Packet Company, boarded the *Grey Eagle* to write a letter. Mistaking Croffut for the editor of the unfriendly paper, Captain Harris approached, called him a scoundrel, and "swearing great, round oaths, that he didn't want him to come aboard his boat" ordered him off. Astonished at such violent language, Croffut demanded an explanation and inquired if the *Grey Eagle* was not public to all who chose to come aboard. This was too much. Seizing Croffut by the collar Harris dragged him to the stairway and kicked him down to the lower deck. Following immediately he took another hold and "swear-

³⁸ *The Winona Republican*, May 20, 27, June 3, 10; 17, 1856; *Shakopee Independent*, June 18, 1856.

ing most profanely all the time, dragged him out upon the wharf, and there left him and returned to his boat". Unable to offer any resistance, the unfortunate Croffut was "bruised considerably, but had no bones broken". Harris was arrested, brought before a magistrate, and, acknowledging the assault, was fined "*ten dollars* and costs". The incident was a matter of deep regret to Captain Harris but no apology could placate the "bruised" pride of Mr. Croffut.³⁹

Captain Harris, on the other hand, often demonstrated a touching generosity to his fellowmen and was ever willing to aid the poor and distressed. An old man, driven from his daughter's home at Fort Madison, sought and received passage to Louisville, Kentucky, aboard the *Smelter*. The thought of a lonely life in Kentucky broke the old man's heart and he died a short distance below Alton. Captain Harris had the old man decently interred and no charge was made on the cabin register. Again, in 1852, the *West Newton* picked up two ministers of the gospel at Rollingstone, Minnesota. Both were astonished at the terrific speed of the boat. "She fairly danced with us like a Nymph upon the waves", wrote one, "everything about the boat in general, and the table in particular, was in perfect '*apple-pie order*'. When we called at the Clerk's office to pay our fare, on learning our profession, he very gentlemanly remarked, 'Nothing to pay Sir!' to which, of course, we did not object; but for the favor were *truly thankful*. May other clergymen be equally favored."⁴⁰

Captain Harris's sentimental attachment to his boat elicited the following comment from the *Daily Minnesotian*: "The Grey Eagle and her Commander, Capt. Harris, both

³⁹ *The Daily Pioneer and Democrat* (St. Paul), July 15, 1857.

⁴⁰ *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, July 15, 1837; *The Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), July 29, 1852.

sustained a sad and irreparable loss on Thursday evening, while between Hastings and this place. The boat took a slue on the Pilot, and ran into the bank, breaking off and losing her jack staff. Now, jack-staffs themselves are not so valuable, because, in this country where pine lumber is so plentiful, the boat's Carpenter could have repaired the loss in a few hours. But at its top there fluttered, conscious of the proud position it occupied, a gilt chicken cock, which, like the eagles of Napoleon, that soared over all his battle fields through many years, and long wars — had pointed the way with its glistening beak on every boat sailed by the old Commodore for many years, and seemed as if always leading him on to victory, inseparably associated with the success of whatever boat he has commanded. Of course the Captain is inconsolable for the loss of his chicken-cock, and says he would rather have lost \$500. He is endeavoring to find it, and probably it may yet soar at the head of his jack staff, years after the Grey Eagle is rotten and used up.”⁴¹ Strange to say the “chicken cock” was recovered and the prophecy fulfilled.

Late in the afternoon of May 9, 1861, the *Grey Eagle* crashed into the Rock Island bridge and sank almost immediately in twenty feet of water. Six or seven people were drowned including an insane man who had been chained to the lower deck. Captain Harris was found wandering about the upper deck in a dazed condition, picking up little odds and ends of no consequence compared with the \$60,000 craft he had just lost. Broken hearted over the loss of his *Grey Eagle*, he retired from active river life, retaining only a few shares of stock in the Packet Company.

Among the odds and ends which he recovered from the wreck was his much loved “chicken cock”. The historic bird had been carved from a single block of solid oak at the

⁴¹ *The Daily Minnesotian* (St. Paul), October 9, 1858.

boat yards at Cincinnati, had been hoisted for the first time on the *War Eagle* in 1845, and had been passed on to the *Senator*, the *Dr. Franklin No. 2*, the *West Newton*, the second *War Eagle*, and finally the *Grey Eagle*. Harris took it to Galena where it roosted quietly in his barn for thirty years when it was brushed up and placed on top of the arch surmounting the entrance to Grant Park in Galena. Replaced by a brilliant electric light, the "chicken cock" again went into temporary retirement at the home of Captain Harris's daughter — Mrs. Irene Gillette — where Captain Walter A. Blair found it and placed it in the cabin of the *Helen Blair*. After selling his boat Captain Blair presented it to the Academy of Science at Davenport where it remains.⁴²

When Daniel Smith Harris died in 1893, it was said he was the oldest settler in Galena and of the State of Illinois. Coming to the lead mines in 1823, the same year the steamboat *Virginia* navigated the Mississippi to Fort Snelling, Captain Harris participated in the halcyon days of steamboating on the Upper Mississippi prior to the Civil War. He lived to see the corporation of which he was once a heavy stockholder pass into oblivion in the late eighties. At his death the Diamond Jo Line was the lone survivor of many years of bitter competition on the Upper Mississippi.⁴³

Captain Harris was twice married. His first wife, whom he married in 1833, was Sarah M. Langworthy, a sister of James, Lucius, and Solon Langworthy, well-known figures in the history of northeastern Iowa. Mrs. Harris died in

⁴² *Dubuque Herald*, May 14, 1861; *Rock Island Argus*, May 10, 1861; Merrick's *Steamboats and Steamboatmen of the Upper Mississippi* in the *Burlington Post*, October 30, 1915.

⁴³ *Galena Gazette*, March 17, 1893; Petersen's *Captains and Cargoes of Early Upper Mississippi Steamboats* in *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Vol. XIII, pp. 224-240.

1850 and in 1851 Captain Harris married Sarah Coates, who died in 1886. He was survived by ten children — eight daughters and two sons.

On several occasions Captain Harris was accompanied by his wife on boat trips, and John P. Owens describes the second Mrs. Harris as “a proficient in and enthusiastic admirer of the natural sciences, which promises to be of advantage to us in our researches among the soils, rocks and plants of the Upper Minnesota.” He added: “She has as her guest a well-known St. Paul lady, whose enthusiasm for pioneering, and being the first white woman to set foot upon this and that remote, out-of-the-way place is proverbial.” This guest was Harriet E. Bishop, author of *Floral Home; or, First Years of Minnesota*.⁴⁴

The character of Captain Harris was a composite of the strongest and best traits of men. Deprived of a liberal education, he overcame this handicap by making excellent use of an exceptionally alert and vigorous mind. His remarkable memory stood him in good stead and in later years he was looked upon as an authority on matters relating to the early history of Galena. As a captain his personality always made a deep impression on his passengers. While traveling in western Pennsylvania in 1890, a citizen of Galena met an old lady who had traveled widely in her youth. Upon learning the residence of the traveler she spoke at some length of her trip on the Upper Mississippi in a boat commanded by a Captain Harris during the cholera years. Forty years had failed to efface from her memory the genial personality and indomitable character of this famous pioneer.

No other captain who engaged in steamboating on the

⁴⁴ *Galena Gazette*, March 17, 1893; *The Minnesotian* (St. Paul), May 7, 1853; Blakeley's *History of the Discovery of the Mississippi and the Advent of Commerce in Minnesota* in the *Minnesota Historical Society Collections*, Vol. VIII, p. 416.

Upper Mississippi prior to the Civil War could approach the record of Daniel Smith Harris. "In enterprise, activity, liberality, in constructive talent, in the ability to meet a great requirement in transportation in the early development of the Northwest, the fame of this courageous and efficient man is secure." To him, more than to any other single pioneer captain, was due the startling growth in the use of steamboats on the Upper Mississippi, the rapid expansion of their use to the tributary streams, and the constant development in speed, comfort, and efficiency, so necessary for the quick transportation of the vast waves of immigrants moving northward.⁴⁵

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY IOWA

⁴⁵ *Galena Gazette*, March 17, 20, 1893; *Burlington Post*, May 31, 1919.

THE JOURNAL AND LETTERS OF CORPORAL WILLIAM O. GULICK

[This is the third and concluding installment of *The Journal and Letters of Corporal William O. Gulick*. The two preceding installments appeared in the April and July numbers of THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS. The letters and journal were edited by Max Hendricks Guyer. The original spelling, capitalization, and punctuation have been retained.—THE EDITOR.]

Monday Sept. 1st 1862

Our officers are preparing papers for the reorganizing of our Regt. By the late order we are to have Three Lieutenants Eight Sergeants & Eight Corporals to a Co. The Battallion Quarter masters & Adjutants are mustered out.

Tuesday Sept. 2nd 1862

“It is just one year ago today”

“That I remember well”

I signed my name to the muster roll

And Im satisfied very well

Many changes have taken place since then but life & health have been spared me May the succeeding year pass with as little casuality.

I have been appointed Eigth Corporal by Capt. Ankeny.¹⁴⁶ That I may do my duty is all I desire. They have initiated me in my new capacity by placing me on picket guard — Poorest post on the job.

To mend matters I have recd a letter from Mary & home.

Clinton Henry Co. Mo.

Co. M. 1st Ia Cavl Sept 7th

Dear Cousin Mary,

Your neat little letter including a few lines from Mother

¹⁴⁶ According to the *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, Vol. IV, p. 86,

came very safely to me and it as all letters from home met with a hearty welcome.

It seems a long time between your letters. I hope you will never wait so long again. But do as a *Dear little cousin should do*, write very often. You must not think because the rest write, that will suffice for in fact you all write so different that should you all write the same day each and every one of your letters would be very interesting

It is just one year ago today since I left home and friends to go to the wars.¹⁴⁷ The time seems very short since I bade you all farewell, picked up my satchels and took the cars from *Old Low Moor*. I have passed through a great many senes & changes and have come out all on the Square I am very thankfull for my health & life. May I only be as successful and have my health for the next year as I have for the past. I suppose ere this You have been brought to the trial of a final parting with the boys Henry & John, & may be *others*, of my relatives that have enlisted Since you wrote. It must call forth all your courage & energies I am glad you all showed yourselves brave enough to give consent & hope you did not get faint hearted & regret their going. If Henry & John gets along with Soldiering as well as I do they will never be "sorry they *larnt the trade*" I should like very much to be home & would like to have all who are now engaged in this cruel war with their own friends. But I never could stay at home as long as my Brethren were in the field. I would not be a citizen in times of war. Nor a Soldier in times of Peace.

There is but little to do here at present. Though no body

Gulick received a further promotion to 7th corporal two days later (September 4th).

¹⁴⁷ It seems curious that Gulick does not mention in this letter his successive promotions within the previous five days to 8th and 7th corporal. It certainly indicates a becoming modesty and sense of proportion on his part.

knows how soon their maybe. We have reconoitreing parties out nearly every day, but I beleive they report all quiet. There is some talk here of the Gun Boat service. And geting transfers. I most beleive I would go myself if I could get a transfer I think I would have so much more experience by so doing. But there is nothing certain in regard to it yet. We have so many camp rumors it is difficult to tell what to beleive.

I was out today after Peaches had all I could eat then brought in camp about half Bushel. By the way I ate one for you all around then repeted the operation and was in the act of Doing so again when I found myself *incompetant* for the *job*. (Dont think I am pigish) I wish I could send you some. If I can go to Sedalia I will try to send you a box. You spoke of a great many things all of which I would like to be home to enjoy, such as Plumb picking, the last day of school, Emmas Piano & c But a furlough is out of the question at the present time.

You speak of *Pet* I had almost forgotten her. She must be quite a horse. I wish you had a Pony to learn to ride. there are some very nice ones in this country. I was glad to hear your Black Calf was doing so well. Why Mary you will have a cow before you are aware of it. Our Regt has lately been reorganized under the new order. Giving us, Three Lieut. Eight Seargeants, instead of Six & Eight Corporals as usual. Mrs. Wilkes says in her letter to Fred she had an exelent visit at Mrs. Gulicks. For gracious sakes dont make a public thing of my letters. You know I never take any pains with them when I write. By the way has Price gone to the war or is he at Eden [Iowa] Tell me all the happenstances have Parkes & Woody write They scarce ever write They say the Pay master has arrived if so we will get our Pay tomorrow There is Fifty two Dol. Due me. I owe about Twenty Isaac was here today is as

hearty as ever likewise Fred. My supper of Stewed Turkey is waiting for me so I will not bother you more

Very truly Yours

Billie

Saturday Sept. 13th 1862

I am on guard today weather fine For the last ten days I have neglected to write in fact nothing has occurred unusual or worthy of note except A large scout went out to attack rebels on the Little Osage, b-u-t — b-u-t didn't find them. We recd pay Thursday. \$50.80 was our due. I payed all my debts & with but few exceptions recd all that was due me from the boys

War news from the east rather discouraging Maryland invaded¹⁴⁸ Still my confidence of future success is undisturbed

Saturday Sept. 20th

The week has passed as usual. A detail went to Sedalia has not yet returned

This morning at Eight oclock we took up our line of march to Springfield.¹⁴⁹ We marched about 20 miles & camped Six or Eight miles from Osceola Some stragglers in rear of column were fired on by the guerrillas at Grand river. A sergeant from Co. A. was killed The detail to Sedalia just come in they were also fired on by the same Guerrillas fortunately no harm done.¹⁵⁰ Sergeant Tow-

¹⁴⁸ This refers to Lee's drive through Maryland after the second battle of Bull Run, ending in the repulse of the Confederates at Antietam.

¹⁴⁹ "On the morning of September 20th, all the sick who were unable to march having been ordered to Sedalia, in obedience to orders the regiment, Colonel Gower in command, left Camp Warren [Clinton] and took up its line of march to Springfield, distant one hundred miles south of Clinton".—Lothrop's *A History of the First Regiment Iowa Cavalry Veteran Volunteers*, p. 79.

¹⁵⁰ Attacks at the crossing of the Grand River are verified by Surgeon Lothrop. The "detail returning from Sedalia", two ambulances in charge

send¹⁵¹ sent one of them to his long home. Weather fine. roads good Forage scarce

Sunday Sept. 21st 1862

We crossed the Osage river at Osceola Marched to within Six miles of Humansville camped in a fine meadow Used new corn for hors feed Our rout was over a continuation of rocky hills

Monday Sept. 22nd 1862

Humansville a small town in a stony country, & where the state troops had a fight some time since passed.¹⁵² We changed our direction west toward Stockton. Camped three miles east of said town on the Sauk river

Tuesday Sept. 23rd 1862

As usual we started at five oclock A.M. Stockton the County seat of Cedar Co. is quite a fine town pleasantly located on a fine high but rather stony hill.

We camped at a splendid spring six miles south of Melville a small town "by the wayside". A forage train was out here from Springfield. We have marched twenty five miles. roads very rough.

of Surgeon Cochran, not only sustained no loss themselves but wounded one man and killed one horse of the bushwhackers. Lothrop states that "Corporal Van Hook of Co. A [was wounded] while absent from the command".—Lothrop's *A History of the First Regiment Iowa Cavalry Veteran Volunteers*, p. 80.

¹⁵¹ "Towsend" was Solomon Townsend of Company M, ultimately its captain (January 4, 1865).—*Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. IV, p. 190.

¹⁵² A small skirmish between a detachment of the Sixth Missouri Cavalry under Major Samuel Montgomery and some rebels under Colonel Coffee (August 12, 1862) resulted in the Confederates being put to flight with a loss of 5 killed and several wounded. Not one Union man was killed and only one, Major Dale, was wounded.—*Official Records: War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. XIII, p. 230.

Wednesday Sept. 24th 1862

We marched five miles & camped on a rough hill called *Rattlesnake* & near a small stream, to await orders We are 25 miles west of Springfield, Ten east of Greenville & Thirty miles north of Sarcoxie

I am on guard today & night still found time to go out & gather grapes which abound. they are the finest & best I ever saw for uncultivated.

Friday Sept. 26th 1862

We lay over yesterday. This morning took up our line of march, as usual at five o'clock. We had gone but three miles when a report came that fifty Guerrillas were encamped Ten miles distant. A party of fifty men was called for from our Regt. I volunteered to go. When within half mile of the place we dismounted and went in on foot. We all expected a fight, but Lo, & behold! the enemy had fled we now made tracks to our Regt. which was thirty miles distant. We arrived where they were camped about ten o'clock P.M: (At Pond springs Ten miles S west of Springfield hungry & tired after our fruitless scout

Saturday Sept. 27th 1862

We came in Springfield ten miles distant. This is a splendid location said to be the summit of the Ozark Mt. the town has been quite flourishing in its time of peace. Some very fine springs good farming tract for several miles any direction from town.

Springfield,¹⁵³ Green Co. Mo Sept. 27th

Dear Sister Emma.

You will undoubtedly be surprised to hear from me from

¹⁵³ This concentration at Springfield, as we shall see presently, was preparatory to carrying the war into the enemy's country. So far Arkansas had mostly escaped invasion, except for the Union victory in March at Pea Ridge, which the victors were not then in a position to follow up. Springfield, which

this famous Town. We have just arrived here after a weeks hard marching. I recd your letter the morning we left Clinton, had not time to read it untill we got on the march. We were so busily engaged packing. We recd marching orders quite unexpectedly, consequently we were not very well prepared.

Our rout here, has been quite a circuitous one, by the way of Greenfield. I suppose it was on account of forage being scarce The country from Osceola is pretty rough & as we gradually rise the Ozark Mts. I am reminded not of *Mts.* but old York State & Schoharie hills. This is the summit of the Ozark, but quite a level tract of country well watered & timbered. I think it must be very healthy. as for the Town it has been quite flourishing but it is all military now Even the Citizens are obliged to work on the fortifications. & The Stores are only open from Twelve untill Two oclock. I spent an hour down town this after noon but could not learn much that would be interesting to you. The 18th 19th and 20th Iowa Regts. are here I have not had time to seem [see] them yet. Though some of the boys have found acquaintences among them. Oh how I whish the 26th¹⁵⁴ or Clinton County Regt. would come here before we leave. What a *glorious old time* we would have I hope they will come and *join our Brigade*. I learn since we come here that we belong to Gen. Dyes¹⁵⁵ Brigade composed of the 1st Ia. Cavl. 20th Ia Inft The 57th Ill. Inft. and the 1st Mo. Battery

I suppose our *Bushwhacking* is nearly at an end & we will take our places in the *big fighting* where there is *less dan-*

was to be the base for these advanced operations, was then and is now the metropolis of southwestern Missouri. Its present population is about 40,000.

¹⁵⁴ This reference is, of course, to the 26th Iowa Infantry. In the absence of a specific designation, i.e. when written simply "the 26th", *infantry* is the type of service inferred.

¹⁵⁵ Probably Brigadier General Alexander B. Dyer, Union army.

ger & more credit & honor to be gained. I am heartily glad of it. I judge by appearance that a forward movement will take place soon and in the direction of Ark.

There is about Thirty thousand Troops here & at Mt. Vernon. & more expected every day

I forgot to tell you that our rear Guard was fired on coming down here & a seargent from Co. A killed. & also yesterday I was on a scout Four men was called for from each co. I was one to Vol. from ours. we heard of about Fifty Bush(.) Whackers Ten miles off our road and we went to attack them. When within half mile of the reported camp we dismounted & advanced on foot every man expecting a fight, but *lo* on our near approach we discovered that they had fled in haste, and it was to late to persue them. We had to hasten back to our camp which was Thirty mile distant as our Regt. had been on the move all day. It was a very hard ride. We got in camp last night at Ten Oclock. Then came in this place this morning starting at *Five oclock*, our usual time for starting, when on a march

I am glad that the quota from Iowa is filled. You will not be called to part with more friends soon. But if it must be, remember, it is your duty & give them a cheering word I think with the forces we now have we can soon whip them. Our sky that was so *dark* [part of letter torn off] by this war. You know I told you I give my Little red blanket to the wounded boys at Clear creek. Well that was the last I ever saw of it. I thought so much of it I would rather loose Five Dol. Also When Our Regt. left Clinton in such haste & I was not there my Old *Low Moor* Satchel was left, more than half full of trinkets I had gathered from secesh. Consequently the J.H. got it. I have written in such haste I doubt your reading it. If the boys have not gone from Clinton yet tell them to write me & I will do my part also tell them to direct to my Regt. & Co. Via. St. Louis

Monday Sept. 29th 1862

After preparing yesterday for a march in the way of shoeing horses — drawing rations &c. & waiting in readiness all day, We took up our line of march S.W. about four P.M. & camped on a small branch Near Wilson creek after marching ten miles.

The 37th Ill. 26th Ind. 18th & 20[th] Ia. Inft. & the 1st Mo. Battery are with us. We form a Brigade under command of Gen. Dye. We lay out, minus supper or horse feed.

Tuesday September 30th/62

We had good horse feed & breakfast Remained about camp all day. just night a scouting party of Fifty men from our Regt. went out to reconoitre. It is reported that a battle is being fought west of Mt. Vernon.¹⁵⁶ We have orders to prepare three days rations & march at Nine oclock in the morning.

Wednesday Oct 1st 1862

Quite rainy this morning Were on the march by ten A.M. Traveled about fifteen miles. Camped within Eight miles of Mt. Vernon at a good spring in the timber.

Forage very scarce. We still hear reports of a fight South of Mt. Vernon. Gen. Schofield Totten & Brown are with. One Battalion of the First Mo. is their body guard

Thursday Oct. [2] 1862

I was on guard while marching but the rear came in late so we were excused from picket.

We passed through Mt. Vernon the Capitol of Lawrence Co. It is quite a fine little town or would be in civil times. We learned some of the particulars of the fight which

¹⁵⁶ Mt. Vernon, the county seat of Lawrence County, Missouri, is about 30 miles due west of Springfield.

which was at Newtonia.¹⁵⁷ We got whiped. As Gen. Brown was too late with reenforcements. As *usual*. Camped where Browns Com. had been on a fine spring creek.

Friday Oct. 3rd 1862

We arose quite early & prepared to march After waiting nearly two hours. Word came that we were to remain all day where we were & march at night.

We learned during the day that Blunt & Solomon had been repulsed at Newtonia. Two days ago, with quite a loss, they attacked a superior force behind fortifications but could not carry them.

Night came at last. We took up our line of march (with three days rations) at Nine P.M. Our whole Com. was along the 1st Ia. in advance. Marched all night in the direction of Newtonia S.W. The inft. kept up well the 10th Ia were fired on three men wounded Commenced raining just before day continued *hard*, for three hours.

As we were in the edge of timber about three miles from town word came that a fight was in progress at town We marched forward double quick formed in line of battle. all hands expecting a fight. After advancing about a mile the whole of the rebel force was in full sight of us, & south of town. While Blunt & Saloman were to be seen on the west of town with their batteries playing on the rebels, Who as we came up, moved south in full retreat. Our command advanced double quick to town only having an opportunity

¹⁵⁷ A small force sent out by General Salomon on September 30th to reconnoiter the enemy's position had encountered a greatly superior force of Confederates at Newtonia and was hard pressed at the time Salomon arrived. It is now noon, and he sent a dispatch to Colonel G. H. Hall, commanding Brown's brigade, for assistance. Near sunset, just as Salomon was being forced to retire by the greater numbers of the enemy, Colonel Hall arrived with 1500 cavalry and some guns, checked the enemy's advance, and effectively covered General Salomon's retreat. About 7500 Confederates and 4500 Union men were engaged at Newtonia.—*Official Records: War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. XIII, pp. 18, 19.

to give the rebels a few shell. We took possession of *everything* publick — some prisoners. While Blunt & Saloman persued the rebels — both disappeared in the timber but heard their cannonading all the morning (Rebs had a start, so will escap) After feeding we moved two miles out of town & camped. If the rebs had stood a fight, or if Brown had come up as he ought — Would have made a good thing of the rebels. The different commands all in sight as they were at one time, manœuvring, presented a grand yet terrible sight. Rebel loss about fifty killed & wounded. Ours none¹⁵⁸

Sunday June [Oct.] 5th 1862

We remain in camp This is quite a pleasant tract of country.

Heavy guards out — Horse feed plenty. We are short of rations of all kind but meat this with out salt constituted my supper.

Myself wrapt in blanket I slept as snug and good, as usual out from shelter. Our train came in late

Still remaining in camp this Monday Oct 6th. Are awaiting supplies, I learned that two of our pickets were wounded by Guerrilas last night. Our scouting parties found munitions of war hidden amounting to more than a thousand dol. The expected supply train came in. also about 3,000 troops

Tuesday Oct. 7th 1862. We expected to march Was prepared at an early hour but it proved to be a Division drill, the whole day was occupied & we are still in camp waiting to march, on uncertainties.

¹⁵⁸ General Schofield's report gives the Union loss as 4 wounded; he also states that the loss of the enemy could not be ascertained, "as the fight extended over 30 miles of timbered country. Eighteen of the enemy's dead were left in the road."—*Official Records: War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. XIII, p. 19.

Thursday Oct. 9th 1862

Yesterday was cold and rainy & continued to rain all night. I done but little except write a letter to [blank]

This morning was on the march by Eight oclock A.M. It continued to rain all day was cold & made it very disagreeable. We marched about fifteen miles to Gaddy where we stoped for the night. *did not camp* The roads were so bad our wagons keep up. [?] they were upset, & stuck about five miles back. Consequently we were without supper tents or shelter & it continued to rain all night

The inf. were as bad off as ourselves many of them nearly give out. I saw some poor homesick fellows crying by the way side.

Friday Oct 10th 1862

Weather cold & damp. about noon our teams came up & we commenced living again Remained in camp all day. Forage plenty

Saturday Oct 11th 1862

Our Co. & four others from our Regt. went out on a reconoitreing expedition. We went to Cassville saw a few rebl scouts, but they "Vammoused the ranch" with half doz. shots after them Came back a round about way.

Sunday Oct. 12th 1862

Got quite an early start. We marched with whole command to Cassville. Arrived about noon. Teams kept up quite well This is quite a pretty place located in a pleasant valley, on Shoal creek Tis the county seat of Barry Co.

Roads are getting good. weather fine.

Cassville Mo. Oct. 16th/62

Co. M 1st Iowa Cavl

Dear Sisters,

Your long looked for letters are at hand. Maries

[Mary's] came first by the way of Clinton then yours Emma, by the way of Cairo. Since I wrote from Springfield we have been very busy. As war & war movements are the principal topics of the day it may not be out of place to tell you of the moves & operations of this "out of the way" western division

We left S—— field the next day after writing you, and camped in the vicinity of "Wilson Creek"¹⁵⁹ Battle ground", Two days. That is Two Brigades, Under Gen. Totten We then moved on to Mt. Vernon and camped one day By this time we learned that a battle was in progress at Newtonia, Newton Co. We now pushed on until we came up with Gen. Brown's Division. Fifteen miles S.W. of Mt. Vernon. here we learned that Gens Blunt & Soloman had engaged the enemy at Newtonia and were repulsed as the enemy were superior in numbers and strongly posted in Town. Our whole command under Gen. Schofield¹⁶⁰ moved forward to reinforce Blunt & Soloman We marched all night. (The latter part of which was wet and rainy) as day dawned we were within 3 miles of town Blunt and Soloman opened their Batteries The rebels came pouring out to meet him, but when they discovered our command on their Flank, They took a great scare and commenced a hasty retreat — Our Regt. was in advance and as we came up our Batteries opened upon them at Two miles distant. The town is on the prairie Two miles from any timber con-

¹⁵⁹ The battle of Wilson's Creek (August 10, 1861), where the gallant General Lyon was killed, was only an indecisive Confederate victory, although the Confederates numbered 20,000 as compared to 5000 Union men.

¹⁶⁰ John M. Schofield succeeded General Samuel R. Curtis in command of the Department of Missouri and Kansas some six months later. Not being as radical an abolitionist as Curtis he was less intent upon crushing out all rebel sentiment in Missouri than upon so distributing the available Union troops as to combat most effectively the regular Confederate army. He managed this department in a creditable manner, and later took part in the Atlanta campaign under General Sherman.

sequently all the troops were in sight. As the smoke slowly rolled away from the Batteries it presented the grandest sight I ever saw. The rebels never looked back but soon disappeared in the Timber with shells flying after bursting some high in air. We followed several miles but as it was necessary to feed, the rebels got the start and made good their escape after night. They were Seven or Eight Thousand strong and it is said fell back to Gen. Reins & Hindman in the vicinity of Pea Ridge or Crosshollows. We stoped at Newtonia Several days, then marched to Gadfly thence here, where we have been for Four days As soon as Supplies and reinforcements come in will undoubtedly move on to Arkansas after the rebels. We have about Twenty thousand troops in this part, and Gen Schofield commander.

We live in high hopes of whipping the Rebels if they will only fight I am getting impatient for to have the work done up, the sooner the better. It is rather discouraging to look at the many reverses we have met with. And surely all oweing to our leaders. When will we have efficient leaders. When will the authorities at Washington awake to a sense of their duties. The Presidents Proclimation indicates a change. it is in my opinion just the right thing in just the right time. And well it may be For unless the war is prosecuted differently we might as well make the childs bargain "You let me alone & I will you"

The Soldiers generally recd the Proclimation with great satisfaction. Some few old Foggy Pro Slavery Dem. will only listen to it as a military necessity. Although they like the negro to be a slave. They hate the South and are getting tired of playing with them. I think by the time the war ends they will all vote the Rep. ticket. We had election the other day for Iowa State officers. of cours I did not vote *neither did many of the Dem as they had no tickets*

(a good joke on the Dems.) Yes I was very glad to hear that Uncle Smith had come at last, but sorry Mary and Woody had to be separated although you say it is for the best. I supposed Mary and Woody would alway stay with us as my Brother & sister

You both speak of Wares visit & the soldiers dinner, how gladly would I have been there but I could not, still I am pleased to know you had so good time. I suppose ere this. The boys have left Clinton I realy hope they may come here though it will be hard times to what they have seen. For example, I only slept in tents Four times from Clinton here. The two days out from Newtonia comeing here it rained day and night Our Teams were stuck consequently we lay on the ground with out supper or break fast drenching wet no shelter but the broad canopy of heaven Many times have we fared in this way. And now we are under marching orders and half rations of everything except hard B[r]ead, which is marked B.C. No Mary, we do not have stewed Turkey every day only some times. The new Regs here are quite sickly. But nothing can *faze* such hardened cases as we are. Mary you speak of my being Corporal since you have found it out I will tell you I was appointed by Capt. Ankeny just one year from the time I enlisted. Sept. 2nd. I had rather you would not direct as such however. The vacancy was occasioned by Capt Ankeny resigning Our 2nd Lt. J. Crosby is Capt. now. By the way I have Five Dollars state pay due me and I authorized Capt. Ankeny to draw and pay it to Father Gulick or Wilkes as it was the most convenient If you receive Freds pay give it to Mr. Wilkes and if Wilks receives mine he is to give it you You can use the \$5.00 for any thing you want, it is a present to you all. You need not fear I have money enough besides I have plenty of friends. hereafter I shall send my money home (as my horse and saddle is payed for) and if you have no use for it I will use

it to go to school for I am resolved to devote some time to my education if I survive this war

Tell John I received his letter will ans soon as I learn his direction. I must say well done for Abel and John Gleason I would say unto them "Judas went out and hung himself. Go thou and do likewise."

I saw Mats. likeness Isaac got It look well. Isaac and Fred are as hearty as myself Much thanks to you both for your exelent letters Do not fail to write soon, for soon I expect to be an *Arkansaw Traveler* My love to all

Your Aff. Brother W. O. G.

P. S. It will not pay to send me paper I have stamps and paper plenty Direct my Regt. & Co. Via St. Louis Mo.

Saturday 18th 1862

During the past week their has been four regt. come in (Iowa & Wis. troops) from Springfield also the first Ark. Cavl. Regt. I have recd letters from home and ans. them. Yesterday we moved three miles out of town on the Herts-ville road The telegraph is completed to this place.

This Saturday Oct. 18th We took up our line of march for Ark. at Six oclock A.M. Passed through Hertsville at about Ten A.M. (The telegraph is completed as we go or about five miles below this place) Tis a poor shaby town the last in Mo. Near here we enter a deep narrow revine the one in which Curtice [Samuel R. Curtis] skirmished with Price & in which McCullah¹⁶¹ placed all manner of obstructions in the way of our then advancing column.

Since I have seen the many obstacles with which our army had to contend, I can give them more credit for the brilliant victory they gained at Pea Ridge. When within two miles of Pea Ridge we took a road to the right leading over a high ridge Said to be the road that Price came to attack

¹⁶¹ The Confederate general, Benjamin McCulloch, was killed at Pea Ridge.

Curtice army in the rear. We moved Ten miles S.W. & camped on Sugar Creek, had no feed for horses and was not allowed to unsaddle our tired horses. Our wagons came in about mid.night.

Strong guard out tonight. One of our men it is said was *shot* on picket. Also one of the rebels that came in prowling about camp we caught four of them. The enemy is supposed to be close at hand.

Sunday Oct. 19th 1862

We were ready for a march very early but remained in camp all day. I was out two miles after forage A fals alarm went the rounds which caused us to come out in line.

Monday Oct. 20th 1862

Our Co. & one from the 1st Mo were out on a reconoitre-ing scout. We went S. W. to Bentonville Eight miles. It was here that Seagle¹⁶² had his Head Qr. & was attacked by Price or McCullah. We passed over a part of the road in which he conducted his retreat to Pea Ridge the first day of the fight. Saw the field in which he displayed his strategicle skill by useing blank cartriges to draw the rebels out — then slaying them by hundreds with more than a score of cannon

Bentonville is quite a fare place for the country is a *County seat*¹⁶³

From here we moved ten miles south. But discovered nothing of the rebels. The citizens concur in the report that

¹⁶² General Franz Sigel, a Union officer of German nationality, performed excellent service under General Lyon in the summer of 1861 in helping to hold St. Louis and vicinity for the Union and by his management of the artillery he contributed materially to the victory at Pea Ridge in a later campaign.

¹⁶³ It was the county seat of Benton County, the northwest corner county of Arkansas.

the Rebs. passed the day before. When we returned to Bentonville in the P.M. The citizens told us a Confederate scout had passed through there since we had in the A.M. We came in camp just dark and found everything in readiness for a move. We took a bite for supper of what little we could get at, & fed our horses about half feed corn without unsaddling. During the night we were on rear guard. And traveled nine miles east to Elkhorn tavern & Pea Ridge. Passed over the old Battle ground about daybreak of Oct 21st 1862

Continued our march all day. Stopping only to feed our horses a few two or three ears of corn at a time & make coff[ee] each man in his tin cup. The march was very tedious as we are yet in the rear of all the transportation. The roads were very rough & mountainous. Camped just after dark on a branch of White river in the Bostons Mts. A God forsaken place indeed. We are very tired as we have marched Thirty six hours without halting for an hour. The inf[an]try stand up well. have traveled about Thirty five miles in the last 24 hours. It is said we are near the rebels. And may wish them God speed the time. We are ready now and can whip them.

Wednesday Oct. 22nd /62

It was late last night before we could stretch our weary selves upon the ground wrapt in blankets for repose. And again it was early when the Bugle sounded reveille and time for marching. I found myself the worse by a stiff neck, occasioned by exposure to the muggy dampness. We marched all day S.E. Stopped just dark to get supper. Recd dispatches that the rebels at Huntsville had commenced a hasty retreat when they saw our advance guard. So we took a new direction & traveled until three o'clock in the morning when we made a halt for breakfast & waiting for day light. Day soon came & we were off for Boonville double quick.

Our Regt. in advance I learned our intention was to cut off a party of rebels at Cross hollows, four miles north of B.ville & surprise a camp three miles south.¹⁶⁴

The plan failed as it seemd when we arrived at the expected camp the rebels had fled in haste.

We were out of rations and much fatigued so returned to Cross hollows where we camped quite late at night after a thirty six hour travel. The inftr were very much worn as well as our selves. No wonder; Seventy two hours travel within only one short nights rest during the time. The supply train came in just night.

Friday Oct. 25th [24th] 1862

The day has been occupied by dealing out rations & clothing. I drew boots the quantity brought was not sufficient for the demand. We hear of Blunts success fighting the rebels. nothing authentic The rebels came in with a flag of truce. We are encamped in the old qr of the rebel Gen McCullah

Saturday Oct. 25th /62

Were surprised this morning at finding the ground covered with three inches of snow & cold wintry weather. just night and as supper was yet over the fire word come for every able man to mount in hot haste his steed, and away We knew not what for. *Minus supper* we set out Our (third) battalion. We went out some twelve miles 4 miles beyond out line pickets & drove in the enemies pickets then posted at Fayetteville.¹⁶⁵ As it proved only a reconoisence, and being assured the enemy were not advancing we returned to camp away after midnight cold and hungry

¹⁶⁴ Booneville, the county seat of Logan County, Arkansas, is south of the Arkansas River and over 100 miles west of Little Rock.

¹⁶⁵ Fayetteville, the county seat of Washington County, adjoins Benton County on the south.

Cross Hollows.¹⁶⁶ Ark. Oct. 26th /62
Co. M. 1st Iowa Cavl. —

Dear Mother

I thought as I had time this *fine Sunday morning* — I would write you a letter, that you might know my where abouts and also that I would have another letter due me from home. You can't imagine the joy with which letters are received by the Soldiers from home & friends. Away in this wilderness of a country We get no news whatever. I know nothing of the war out side of Our Division have not seen a paper since we left Cassville which was the next day after I wrote Emma & Mary Since then we have been pretty busy. And, that you may know something of True Soldiering I will tell you how we have passed our time in Rack-en-sack. Twenty miles South of Cassville we entered this famous State. Through a long Mountain pass or Defile, in which Ben McCulloch fell(.) [ed] trees and placed all manner of obstructions for Curtis to remove. (Since I have seen the difficulties with which Curtis & Seagle had to contend, I can give them more credit for the Glorious victory they achieved at Pea Ridge)

We camped one day on Sugar creek Five miles west of Elkhorn(-)Tavern and Pea ridge & Six miles east of Benton Ville. The former place Gen Curti(u)s [Curtis] Head Qr. the latter, Gen Seagle [Sigel] — Before & after the battle. The next day Our Co. was detailed to reconoitre S. W. We went to Benton Ville then Ten miles South, discovered nothing of the Enemy untill we came back to B-ville Where a party of the Rebels skedaddled before us. They were out on the same business as we were. As we came in camp at dark We found every thing on the move for the

¹⁶⁶ "Cross Hollows" is not shown by this name on the map; it is not a town, but a strong natural fortification on the old Santa Fe stage route, four miles from Valley Springs, Boone County, where two deep rocky ravines cross each other.

S.E. by way of Elkhorn Tavern. so we had to content our selves with a piece for supper, and fall in as rear guard to the Train. We marched very slow all night & morning found us several miles S.E. of Pea Ridge. We did not stop for Breakfast or Dinner that day. (The understanding was that every man must have his rations with him) fortunately I had some coffee & Hard Bread The coffee I boiled in Tin cup. late at night we camped, after Thirty Six hours Slow but very tedious traveling. We were very hungry and also had to prepare rations for the morrow so it was near Mid night ere we could wrap self in blanket & stretch my weary limbs upon a bed of earth to rest. Before old sol made his appearance We Were upon the road again We marched due South all day. & only stoped by the way side at dark to get supper then continued our march (though West instead of South) at a fast pace untill after Two Oclock when we bivouaced untill early dawn, when our March was again resumed barely giving us Time to boil coffee in cup — about noon we came up to one of the enemies camp they had left about Ten hours before in considerable haste

The Infantry and wagons remained at this place (Boonville) while Our Regt. was sent out to reconoitre We went Five or six miles. came near cutting of[f] Col. Coffee with 250 of his men on a scout He joined his command I suppose.

Our whol division came here Six Miles North of Boonvill to rest and await supplies when we will undoubtedly resume our Southward march. After all our marching we are only Twelve Miles south of Pea Ridge. I was over the road From Benton Vill to Elkhorn on which Seagle conducted his retreat the first days fighting. It was indeed a very difficult rout. I saw the field in which Seagle drew the rebels with Blank cartriges then poured in them such a

murderous fire — [(] I have mentioned Elkhorn several times). The first shell McCulloch Threw struck this building his intentions was probably to kill our commander at the begining of the engagement The country in which the fighting was done is very hilly and rough — finally this whole region is Timbered and Mountaneous. And very thinly settled. What people there are her are strong secesh & very ignorant They will take confederate notes rather than Lincoln Greenbacks. And the joke is they dont know the genuine C.S. scrip. So many of the boys have sent to St. Louis and got Shinplasters struck off at .50cts per \$100.00 and (sell) (trade) them here for their full face and in some cases get Lincoln Green in change —

You may think I have put it on pretty thick in regard to Soldiering. heretofore I have shown the best side out. I have seen harder marching of shorter duration, but none more tedious than that of the last week. Dont think I complain. I am geting used to anything and can enjoy anything as it comes. Yester morning we had about Two inches of snow. I thought this would be a warm country but it is as *cold* I do believe as Iowa

Last night Our Battallion was called out on a reconoi-tering expedition. We went some Ten miles south Discovered the enemies Pickets came back about One Oclock when we cooked our regular Suppr and retired We heard Yester day that Blunt had a small fight and captured six peices of artillery His Division is but a short Distance from here I suppose you get more news in regard to our general movements than I do here as the Telegraph is compleated to Elkhorn And you would get Official reports

Sunday Oct 26th 1862

I arose very late to partake of chicken & pancakes for breakfast. We have two mills running here so we fare

sumptuously, in the corn dodge line. I am on stable guard to night — tis cold.

Monday Oct. 27th /62

Was about camp all day untill just night when our Regt. & the 7th Mo. (The able men) numbering about 900 all told were ordered out on a scout. We marched all night & when nearly day light. We struck the enemies pickets & drove them to within half mile of their camp. (during which time we killed one man. He was picket at his own door showed himself *brave* but fool hardie as he continued to fire at us untill he fell dead by his wife & children. the former rent the air with wild cries & shrieks of insanity) We had one horse killed & Two wounded up to this time.

We now formed in a line of battle deployed our skirmishes and commenced our advance. A pretty heavy fire was kept up for more than a hour, during which time we advanced a mile, or up to the main rebel force — who seeing our undaunted courage gave way & comenced a hasty retreat, leaving us in possession of their camp a number of wagons & prisoners. Their force was three times our no, so we did not dare to persue so as to reveal our force, so returned after driving them a mile beyond their camp Our loss was small only 7 wounded, one mortally. The enemies loss 11 killed & several wounded

During the day we heard cannonaiding at Fayetteville. Folten Div. attacked Seven thousand rebels and drove them taking the place with as good success as ourselves, driving the enemy several miles. We marched to Fayetteville & without stoping for supper, we returned to Cross hollows a distance of twenty two miles. We arrived at camp away after midnight very tired after the hard riding & excitement of a day & nearly two nights. Our forage train was fired on today & forage master killed

Monday Morning Oct. 28th 1862

I was obliged to lay by my writing yesterday, as about noon their came a call to *arms*. Our Pickets came dashing in and reported the enemy advancing or at least the guard was attacked by a large party. We had to saddle up and fool around all the afternoon while a part of our Regt. went out to meet the enemy, as they approached the out line pickets post, the rebels fled. It proved to be a large rebel scout I suppose sent out to see what mischief they could do

About Nine oclock last night all became quiet and we were allowed to unsaddle and retire. I was Corp. of Stable guard last night so did not get my usual allowance of sleep. I begin to think the rebels dont intend to fight us as they always run. Citizens say they are half naked and but poorly armed and judging from the Prisoners we have taken their saying is true. Their must be a great demand for socks and Butter nut cloth, as every old woman is knitting and every family is weaving as fast as possible I have seen many flocks of sheep and nearly every one has been sheared this fall. It must be to supply the southern army There is Two good grist mills at this place and we keep them running pretty steady for Uncle Sam. by the way we have corn dodger occasionally

There is considerable cotton raised in this part. The Stalk and pod both look very much like Gympsum [jimpson] so you can get quite an idea of cotton I suppose ere this Woody & Uncle Smith have gone East & also Henry & John have gone to the wars in earnest. It must have been a sad week when they all left. I heard by way of Isaac letter that Henry was Corp. "Bully for him" allowing me to use a Soldiers term. I am afraid he will find it but little better than a Private, only a trifle easier on guard, and much more responsible Tell me where the boys are that I may write, also tell them to write me

I know the boys will often wish they could drop in at home and get a good dinner. I never did *No thats a mistake.* Their is a great deal of satisfaction in thinking that nearly half our time is out, although we all think the war will close with in a year. When you write let me know how every-thing is prospering for I feel as much interested in your affairs as though it were my own. Write soon My love to all -- Your Obedient Son

W. O. Gulick

P. S. Excuse this pencil writing I could not get any ink. Every thing is very high My pencil cost 25 *cts.*

W. O. Gulick

Wednesday Oct. 29th 1862

Was about camp untill night when Our Co. was detailed on outline picket Ten miles distance. We arrived at our post about ten oclock P.M. a crossing on White river had not been there long when we were fired on and a large party came in upon us. Numerous shots were fired. The river exposed the rebel force to our view as they were crossing and as it was overwhelming we placed a strong rear guard and returned to camp on a walk, reported to head Qr. at three A.M. When a large force was sent out. We had one man wounded in the arm.

Some curious circumstances connected with it, in my mind.

Thursday Oct. 30th 1862

Our Co. went out on picket, again I was detailed with others to go to Springfield with supply train Came back after starting to await for more wagons Will go tomorrow

Sunday Nov. 2nd 1862

Friday we marched to Cassville & camped for the night. The place supports about a half regt. a guard. Keetsville

was on fire as we passed through Our boys fired it as the rebels fired on us from the houses.

Saturday we marched twenty eight miles & camped at Crane creek a regular station for trains.

Today moved in Springfield a distance of thirty miles, & camped in the edge of town. We have a train of nearly one hundred wagons about fifty when as guards.

Monday Nov. 3rd 1862

I was about town all day did not enjoy it a bit Was disappointed at not seeing the 26th Ia regt. as I expected

Springfield Mo. Nov. 4th 1862

Dear Parents,

As I had an opportunity I thought I would drop you a few lines

I came through to Springfield as one of an scout with Supply train yesterday. We will go back or start tomorrow. I lived in high hopes of seeing the 26th Ia here but was disappointed. I had heard they were ordered here, but one cannot depend on what he hears in this Country If I knew the boys were within fifty miles I would take a French furlough (without permit)¹⁶⁷ to see them

Every thing is dull here as only Three Regts. are at this post. I begin to wish my self back to my Co. again although they are in a dangerous miserable country. And I have only been away Five days. Fred & myself were both on the Detail from our Co. We have only Fifty men as guards for our train of 30 wagons. We anticipate a little fun going back as the roads are lined with Bush Whackers. Our Brigad is encamped at Cross Hollow about one hundred miles South from this point. There is Three Gov. Posts

¹⁶⁷ This is reminiscent of the more recent expression used by American soldiers in the World War to denote the same practice—"A. W. O. L." (absent without leave).

between here and there, one at Crane creek one at Cassville and The third at Elk Horns or Pea ridg. just before we came up a party of our men were fired on at Keets ville also the mail robbed. I had the satisfaction of seeing the Town *reduced to ashes* Keetsville is between Cassville and Pea Ridge the last town in Mo.

just after I finished the last letter home Our regt and the 7 Mo. from our Brigade under Gen Heron started out from Camp to attack a rebel camp Five miles east of Fayetteville we marched all night came on their Pickets just before daylight drove them in with considerable skirmishing, and attacked the main body about Three thousand strong An hour Sun. [day] After an hour and half brisk skirmishing the enemy left Double Quick leaving us in possession of their camp and Five wagons some prisoners We followed them some ways but to no purpose Our loss Four or Five wounded one Mortally ¹⁶⁸ Enemy lost I think Eight Killed a number wounded Our rifles took effect at a longer range than theirs In the mean time we heard the booming of artillery. Totten and Brown had attacked the rebels at Fayetteville seven or eight thousand and completely routed them with success equal to ours

It took us the better part of the night to return to camp. And the next night Our Co was sent out about Fifteen miles to reconoitre and guard a ford on White river We got our Pickets posted at the ford about Ten oclock and in Less than an hour they were driven in by a rebel reconoitreing party consisting of 250 or 300 men We could not hold the place so fell back to camp on a walk numerous shots were fired and one of our Men wounded in the arm. A hea[v]y scouting party was sent out when we reported to Camp just daylight but the rebels fearing something of

¹⁶⁸ Samuel C. Dickerson, quartermaster of the regiment, was the one mortally wounded.—*Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. IV, p. 9.

the kind left. So you see how our time is occupied I anticipate a move ment South as soon or before we get back.¹⁶⁹ I hope we will not delay long. I think the "hotter war the sooner peace", so as willing to push ahead In fact we cannot remain long in a place, the country cannot produce half forage enough for us now, Our poor horses have to take it pretty rough. I have got a pretty tough *Pony* horse, can live on almost nothing.

The weather is quite wintry and the closer we can lay to a fire these night (out to the weather, as we are on this trip) the more comfortable we sleep.

I did not intend to write much this time have not time as I must help load our teams I will send you a paper Published at this place by our former Lt. Colonel Moss. The 1st Iowa for the first time is mentioned in its Columns. It is a long time since I recd a letter from home so do write often and send some news in regard to the war.

Excus all errors My love to all. I am as ever

Your obedient Son

W. O. Gulick

Saturday Nov. 8th 1862

Finds us on Crain creek We moved here from Springfield yesterday, & met the whole army of the Frontir, coming up from Arkansas, except Gen Blunt with about Five thousand Troops. Our Div. Gen Herron is here. While Gen. Tottens Div is 7 miles distance A scouting party went out today Fred, who was very sick last night with Cholera Morbis is much better I was up all night with him.

Weather cold & raw.

¹⁶⁹ The First Iowa Cavalry had, on October 16th, been assigned to the Second Brigade, Third Division, Army of the Frontier. This division was commanded by General Francis J. Herron, in preparation for the invasion of Arkansas.

Monday Nov. 10th /62

We took up our line of march eastward quite early made fifteen miles. Camped on Wilson creek about four miles south of the old battle field Forage plenty.

The Wagon Master of Co D died very suddenly¹⁷⁰

Tuesday Nov. 11th /62

We marched east to Ozark about 15th miles. just to make it interesting we had a drenching rain as we camped, which was in the brush a mile from town There is as many as Ten thousand troops here

Wednesday Nov. 12th /62

We were in camp all day. nothing of special importance occurred.

The 94th Ill. came in from Springfield. This has been my birthday I passed out of my "teens" and did not know it. That the coming year may find me as healthy & as ready for duty as the past, & also that I may improve in knowledge & good morals, is my sincere desire.

Twin Springs, Mo, Nov. 24/62
Co. M. 1st Iowa Cavl

Dear Sister Emma

Your letter came to hand last night & glad was I to get the news from home. Mothers & Cynthias also came in due time, & had I not been very busy since, should have written sooner. When last I wrote from Springfield I said our Division was at Cross hollows & I expected to find them there But for some reason, (I suppose becaus the enemy

¹⁷⁰ The casualty in Company D nearest this date, as recorded by Lothrop, was the death of Private Geo. H. Colville at Sedalia, Missouri, of fever, on November 4, 1862. This could hardly have been the man meant.—Lothrop's *A History of the First Regiment Iowa Cavalry Veteran Volunteers*, pp. 421, 422.

had fled) Our Division was on the road to Spring field & we with the Train met them the second day at Crain Creek (half way between Cassville & Spg.-field. All hands camped at this place several days, when we moved to Ozark a small town Fifteen miles South of Spg.-field. The command Stopped here a day or two, & a large party of our Regt went on a Seven day scout. as I was quite unwell at the time I did not go. I cured my self however by going *Fifty hours* with out food, at the end of which time I ate toast and marched all day We moved about Twenty miles on the Rolly¹⁷¹ road and again camped awaiting the return of the scout here we received new orders. It was generally understood that our Brigade was going to St Louis from thence down the river in McClennards Expedition to Texas. We were disappointed, for as I said, new orders had come, and we were sent back as the *Army of the Frontier*. The weather set in very rainy about this time. But still rainy weather has nothing to do with marching orders, & off we started at noon and marched untill midnight. The rain beating down on our Devoted heads with out mercy. (And the worst of it was we were just retracing our steps) Before morn. The scout came in. The rain continued next day and so did we our march untill night, when we brought up on Wilson creek about four miles below the Battle Ground. Here we got fresh orders for we have remained here ever since except makeing a move of Two miles up the creek to Twin Springs for better camp grounds. We arrived here Saturday, yesterday I was *baker for the day*. And today (Monday) I have been *washing* and also visited The old Battle Grounds The marks of that bloody conflict is dis-

¹⁷¹ Rolla, the county seat of Phelps County, Missouri, is about 100 miles southwest of St. Louis. The scouting of the regiment between the 1st and 25th of November covered 154 miles in southwestern Missouri and north-western Arkansas.—*Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. IV, p. 9.

tinctly visable in-as-much as skulls & human bones lay scattered about the field, and bullets mark nearly every tree. Some as large as my body has been cut off completely by canon shots. Though the canon Shots are not as large or numerous as those at *Pea Ridge*, for there, and *especially* on the Telegraph road trees are mown down as though it were done by the Tornado, the winds strong hand, & even the Telegraph polls are cut slick off by shots. On the centre of this (Wilson creek) field is a huge pit formed by nature which was used for a grave and it is said nearly Two hundred are buried in it The thin covering of Dirt has caved in which expose whole frames to the sight Bones & hair have been pulled out by wolves & c. and lay scatered about I was rather Delicate about touching any thing but *finally* I *did* pick up a lock of hair from the dirt a part of which I send you as a relict of the many brave solders that fell there.

I also added one stone to the pile that marks the spot where Gen. Lyon fell. I would that all our Gen were as brave as him, and as eager to prosicute the war. Then could one pray for them to be spared and not like him sacrifice There lives for their country But as it is, it would be better if some of them could meet him or a similar fate

I think however the prospects are brightening, & although I always had a great confidence in "Little Mack",¹⁷² I think his removal just, for he was as you say "too slow" We can say more for *him* than Fremont. He was *farely* *tried*.¹⁷³ Yes we can well see by the election returns who

¹⁷² "Little Mack" was General George B. McClellan, who was removed from command of the Army of the Potomac earlier in the fall. The failure of his "peninsular campaign" against Richmond had convinced many that he was "too slow", as Gulick puts it; and when he failed to follow up his advantage after defeating General Lee at Antietam he was relieved in favor of General A. E. Burnside.

¹⁷³ That is, McClellan had been fairly tried, while it was charged that

or what party have sent the most Soldiers¹⁷⁴ look at Missouri for another example you mention Iowa She has gone Rep, or Emancipation & *her* Soldiers voted The truth is it makes every man an anti Slavery man, or a *detestable black abolitionist* to go a soldiering. I wish all the Dem. had to go.

Tell mother a thousand thanks for her trees She must not hurt her self working. I will ans her letter soon and hope to pay her and all for the many favors done me, for Pay day is said to be here next week. In regard to health I am as well as can be although I was a *little sick my birth day*. *No wonder, I passed out of my teens*, still I feel just as much of a *boy as ever* Fred and Isaac are hearty but we have had more sickness in our Co last week than ever before Three of our boys Died at the Hospital at Spr. field last week.¹⁷⁵ Makeing four from our Co. by Disease. They certainly had no care Our Capt. says none of his boys shall go away again he will Divid his Ten and purse before it All praise is due him he is a noble man We have to march Tomorrow morn at day break on a five days scout. Every able bodied man is going but we know not where. Will write as soon as I return To you and the boys at Helena. It is geting late this evening so good night Your aff.

brother

W. O. Gulick

P. S. Maj. or Capt. Lefingwell is cashiered¹⁷⁶ and Dishon-

Fremont's removal from command in Missouri had been due to political influences.

¹⁷⁴ The State and Congressional elections of 1862 showed considerable Democratic gains in many northern States, which was naturally discouraging to those who favored the war policies of President Lincoln.

¹⁷⁵ Sergeant Daniel M. Shureman, and Privates George A. Nelson and Jacob Stephenson.

¹⁷⁶ This dismissal occurred on November 10, 1862.—*Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. IV, p. 117. The exact cause

orably Discharged from the service. My love to all and best wishes to Woody & Mary

Battle Grounds of Prairie

Grove Wash-tn Co. Mo. Dec. 10th¹⁷⁷

Dear Mother :

We have had a great fight, but all of Our Regt. is safe. We were victorious, and the rebels have left.

We left Springfield the next day after I wrote you, and made force marching all the way reinforce Gen. Blunt. Then facing the Enemy at Cane Hill. Our Regt. being Cavl. arrived at Blunts Command Saturday night at 12 oclock. 10 hours in advance of Our Brigad or the infantry. That very night the rebels thought to get in Blunts rear to attack him And thus Sunday morning at 7 oclock they run in Herrons or our Brigad four miles in the rear of Blunt & us. Thus the Battle opened at 8 oclock with Herron & lasted untill after dark At noon Blunt with our Regt. in advance attacked their left flank. A volley or two was fired out not to take affect. When the Infantry came up (it was in timber) and went a head, thus we were left to Support them and the artillery. Which proved not very dangerous. I have just came from the battle field. hundreds are yet unburied and this the 3rd day. Tis an awful sight I will

was not given, but drunkenness was strongly hinted at by Gulick in a later letter.

¹⁷⁷ The battle of Prairie Grove, which took place at the locality of that name in Washington County, Arkansas (not Missouri), on December 7, 1862, was a decisive Union victory in that it virtually cleared northwestern Arkansas of the Confederates. As General Blunt's report said, it "practically ended the war north of the Arkansas River." Although outnumbered nearly 3 to 1 by the Confederates under Hindman and Marmaduke, the 2nd and 3rd Divisions under Generals Blunt and Herron routed them with heavy losses. The Confederates are believed to have lost about 3000 of which nearly 1000 were killed, while the Union casualties totalled about 1250. This was the battle of greatest magnitude participated in by the First Iowa Cavalry during the war. Although not in the thick of the combat, it performed invaluable service in flanking, skirmishing, and guarding supply trains.—*Official Records: War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, *passim*.

write full particulars as soon as I have time in a day or two.

Your Aff. Son,

W. O. Gulick

The rebel dead I saw at the hospitals & on the field the Fourth day would exceed Two hundred besides many were buried and many yet unburied I did not see. I am led to believe the rebels loss 700 killed & Three times that no wounded *While ours* I think is 250 killed and Seven or Eight hundred wounded. They out no. us but we had the most Cannon, & then they shooting down hill over shot a great deal.

The trees are more cut up than they are at Pea ridge. if you could see it you would *wonder* how a man escaped as nearly every saplin bears the marks of bullets. (The timber is a young growth)

I presume I have consumed more space & time with the details of the fight than is interesting. but unless one writes of the daily occurances with him, he would come up short of a subject as we are ignorant as a heathen here.

We have remained here much longer than I supposed we would. It is said the rebels are south east of Vanburen on the Ark. river. Forty miles distant. Others say they have gone far south of that The time will come I suppose when we will go to see them, where ever they are. I *hope so*, I want to go a head. I have seen enough of Mo. I look for an opening down the Ark. river, possibly we may meet the *26th Ia.* if we go in that direction. We are haveing beautiful weather now. no, not a bit of frost, It has been quite wet & muddy but now it is drying fast. I suppose your Iowegians are enjoying winter in earnest — haveing your sleigh rides & c. Well you may I enjoy soldiering in a warm climate better nor that.

You speak of my being promoted it is a mistake I am only

Corporal, not seargeant You must not let Capt. Ankeny flatter you in regard to myself. I am quite a hard customer Ankeny was a good man however & if he paid 390.00 it is all right. I observed you spoke of a *heiffer* I gave that to you, Mary, so keep it. it is not mine You said you had been on a playing *scout* up to Cynthias. *Most agreeable* scouting I should judge. how I should like a scout of that kind Well I may see such times again by the by only a year & half then I will be home to hear you play that beautiful Piano you speak of

Tell Emma I have not yet recd pay, but as soon as I do will send the money home. I have now \$100.00 due me from Gov. the probability is we will not get pay in this country. Mother says she is afraid my constitution will not hold out for so long a time at such business as this. Why I am more robust, hearty & stronger than ever was before. When soldiering agrees with a person tis well but if not tis killing business.

Poor Fred Toda¹⁷⁸ the German that worked at Ralstons is dead. he died of Chronic Diarrhoea. He was only away from the Co. Three days at our regt hospital near by. When he died the Doct. said nothing but change of climate could help him & he was too weak for a furlough home. The day before his death he told me if he could only live at Mr. Ralstons for a time he should be all right, but he is gone & we mourn his loss as we do the rest of our brave comrads that are lost. Now, Six in no. You inquire where Capt Crosby is from. He was Foreman in the Lyons Fire Co. he was second Lt. & becaus we made him capt Our First Lieut. resigned. We now have a new one to make which will undoubtedly be our Orderly seargeant McDonal.

¹⁷⁸ Fritz Thode, private in Company M, who died at Prairie Grove on December 19th of dysentery, is probably the man meant.—Lothrop's *A History of the First Regiment Iowa Cavalry Veteran Volunteers*, p. 422. This part of the letter must have been written several days after the first part.

I wrote to Henry & John yesterday. Isaac & Fred are well I have some Springfield Papers. I will send if I can get them the boys borrow them so much. Send me some papers. the last we got were rather encourageing in war details. I sent Mother that hair in an other letter.

Tell our folks they had better trade Pet for a Cow it would be more profitable. I would not use any thing but a good horse if I were home. I am quite a horseman I have a new one. Gay as a Bird I traded also got boot [illegible]

W. O. Gulick

CIRCULAR

Headquarters Second and Third Divisions,
Army of the Frontier,
Prairie Grove, Ark., Dec. 27, 1862.

SOLDIERS:

Before marching, the General Commanding desires to call your attention to several matters. You have been selected to take part in an important movement, the success of which depends upon your soldierly conduct, and above all upon your prompt obedience of orders. Let every officer and soldier make it a personal matter to see that none are absent from the ranks under any pretext whatever. Acts of plunder, pillage or destruction of property, will be a bar to our success, and should be frowned down by every soldier. Obey strictly every order from your officers, for it is the main spring of success. Remember the unparalleled march of the 2d and 3d Divisions, from Wilson's Creek to Prairie Grove, and the gallant manner in which you routed the enemy at the latter place. You earned a glorious name by it, and you now have an opportunity to

add to that name. Let us work together as officers and soldiers, and all will be well.

F. J. HERRON,
Brig. Gen. Commanding.

Official.

Wm Hyde Clark
Assistant Adjutant General

Fayetteville, Ark. Jan 3rd 1863
Co. M 1st Iowa Cavl

Dear Sister Emma

Your letter of the 14th inst. came to hand *Christmas*. indeed it *was a Christmas* present to me, but the mittens that came about that time I prize more. And as I recd. your letter to night of the 22nd (*while my hands were in the dough*) which informed me of the box of dainties you were about to send. I could but regret that you had undertaken to do so much for me.

It is strange you are ignorant of my where abouts at this late date. I have written Three times since the Battle of *Prairie Grove* you must have recd some one ere this, if *not*, I will let you know how we were engaged then, in future.

Since then we have had quite an important expedition over the mountains, or to Vanburen¹⁷⁹ on the Ark. river. As usual, we recd. orders to march. the morn. of the 26th Dec. Marched all day & night. Were then within Twenty miles of the Enemy or Vanburen. The Cavl from both Blunts & Herrons Divisions were sent ahead on the double quick to drive in the pickets We had Two small Howitzers with us. We had not gone more than Seven miles before we met and Captured several picket guards Three miles more & we found a whole Regt. of Texan Cavl on out-line

¹⁷⁹ Van Buren, the county seat of Crawford County, Arkansas, is situated on the Arkansas River three miles from the Oklahoma line.

picket duty — They commenced a hasty retreat & we hurried them considerably. Captured part of their train on the spot.

From this in to Vanburen the chase became general. never stoped a gallop except to use the cannon. I never saw such skeddaddling in my life — the road was strewn with camp equipage, hats, caps, coats, Tents, & lastly wagons, with harness cut from horses, laying on the tong or pole. The firing was kept untill we entered town where we scattered Six more regts. Cavl — they scattered out down the river. The whole rebel force some Twenty five thousand were on the South side. We had been in town Two or Three hours — stoped Four very fine steamers & cleaned out The town pretty well, when the rebels opened fire with their larger guns & shelled us out. In less than half & hour our Artillery & Inft. came up. The Batteries were placed in position & soon Silenced and drove the enemies Batteries from sight that night. Col. Cloud shelled the Enemies camp — which it is said, caused them to leave, burning their stationary Gov. property at Ft. Smith & Camp. The expedition was quite profitable, as we captured Four Steamboats (were burned) loaded with commissary stores. Seventy wagons. One hundred fifty head cattle. Three hundred horses. Two hundred prisoners. & any amount of Army stores the most of which were destroyed for want of transportation¹⁸⁰. Besides all the Stores & shops in town were

¹⁸⁰ The capture of Van Buren occurred on December 28, 1862. Gulick's report of the spoils taken by the Union army corresponds fairly well with the amounts listed by the *Official Records*. The reports of Generals Curtis, Blunt, and Herron furnish the following data on men and material taken: 100 prisoners, 40 wagons, 50 six-mule teams, four steamers, and a ferry-boat, 250 head of cattle, and a large amount of corn, ammunition, and garrison stores. The Union force lost but one man killed and 5 or 6 slightly wounded. General Herron admits, concerning the bombardment that preceded the fall of Van Buren, the "transaction was diabolical, to say the least of it, the town being full of women and children."—*Official Records: War of the Rebellion*, Series I. Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, pp. 167-170.

ransacked, The town will compare very well with Lyons — the goods destroyed or carried off “By the way,” I got a nicely bound volume which I shall send you as soon as I read it Tis old nevertheless a good work “Bunyan’s Pilgrim Progress” I might have got more, but it was a great burden on my horse especialy under such pressing circumstances. Still I got Mary a small book I shall send as soon as you please to send me some postage stamps. *They are not to be got here*

We remained at Vanburen nearly Two days, most of the time on duty. got back to Prairie Grove the last day of the year or *Muster* day. New Years I was quite busy. Went dreaming of the *nick nacks* that you had taken so much pains to prepare for me, & all in vain, for we are One hundred Twenty five miles from Springfield with no conveyance or chance to get it whatever. I hope you recd my letter before you sent the box (them) for you must then know I could not get it. I wish I might have been to Springfield not only that I might have got the *box*, but that I might have seen Mr. Finney, who was so kind as to bring the present. I should realy like to see some one from home. — You have spoken a number of times about my coming home from St Louis the prospects of going to either place very soon are rather dubious — Where we will direct our future course no one but our Commander can tell. The 2nd we moved from Prairie Grove South East of Fayetteville some Four miles, have rem[a]ined here to day but are under marching orders for the morrow. The talk is *here*, that the “Army of the Frontier” has done *its do* & is now to be divided up & sent to some other section to opperate — however it may be only one of the Thousand idle rumors that we have in camp. But when we recolect that all our Army supplies come in wagons from *Rolla* a distance of Two hundred Fifty miles & the winter or wet season coming on it

is better polisy to with draw our forces than to advance farther in a country where the enemy is whiped Still if the Ark. river was open we might establish a new base of operations post at Vanburen. I wonder that the forces at Helena did not cooperate with us on the Ark. river we could have made a clean sweep of it, thus forceing the rebels to go to *Red river* to navigate

I forgot to mention the discovery I made while down to Vanburen — I enquired for Shibleys & found them or where they lived. I learned that two Shibleys from north Mo. had setteled in there some three or four years ago — The name & description corresponds with my cousins. They lived off the road Two miles & as we were chargeing the enemy going down, & came back in the night I could [letter incomplete]

P. S. Direct my Co. & Regt. Via St. Louis

Forsythe¹⁸¹ Mo. Feb. 2nd 1863
Co. M. 1st Iowa Cavl

Dear Mother.

Yours of Jan 23rd came to hand last night a much shorter time on the way than mine by your acct.

You had not recd my last letter however as I wrote *last*, from near Fayetteville Jan. 4th immediately on receiving Emmas letter informing me of the *box* you were about to send. (which I never recd) said letter mentioned our trip to Vanburen, which it seems you have heard by way of Campbells letter for Gorham. Josiah is a messmate & friend of mine *besides a brother Corporal*

When I wrote I knew but little of our future movements, but as some time has elapsed since I wrote you may be glad

¹⁸¹ Forsyth is the county seat of Taney County, Missouri, bordering on Arkansas. The Union army which had captured Van Buren had returned with the object, as Gulick says, of intercepting General John S. Marmaduke on his return from an unsuccessful raid against Springfield.

to know what has transpired with us. The Army of the Frontier became divided & our Div. or Herrons moved East from Fayetteville as far as Huntsville. During this time the rebel Gen. Marmaduke made a dash on Springfield — It now became our duty to cut off his retreat, & every muscle was strained to accomplish this — consequently the cavl, was kept continually on the scout We made long and tedious marches — Some times nearly down to the Arkansas river (near Ozark) then away East on the White river (South east of Yellville¹⁸² The Inf. & Artillery moved to Carrolton¹⁸³ — While we as it was kept up a patroll guard at least one hundred miles east and West — we captured quite a number of Marmadukes men as were stragling south but his main body crossed Whitt [White] river at Batesville¹⁸⁴ to far East for us. At that time we were at a ferry Fifteen miles below Yellville Exposed to the several storms we have had in these ports In short: we left camp at Carrolton early in the morn at which time it was raining — We marched late at night then turned out only to stand around our fires during a knight of drenching rain continued our march next day & it continued to rain growing colder at night — we camped at Ferry, but without shelter — but — rolled up in blankets by our huge camp fires next morn found us buried in six inches of snow — *I declair things looked billious* — Fifty miles from camp, out of grub, and in a snow storm It continued to snow untill it became to cold — we marching all day towards camp — found it rather tough starting fire in the woods that night & next day arrived at camp — Now the whole command was nearly out of rations some lived on half rations untill we marched from Carrolton here (Forty five miles most of the time raining

¹⁸² The county seat of Marion County, Arkansas.

¹⁸³ Carrollton was at that time the county seat of Carroll County, Arkansas.

¹⁸⁴ The county seat of Independence County, Arkansas.

& on a barren Mt. Country) The river was too high to cross but a messenger was sent in a skiff over the river, thence to Springfield & in due time supplies arrived.

Nearly a week was occupied in constructing a Ferry and crossing the river. since which time we have been very active in preparing for some grand movement. Our horses were jaded and worn Our clothing & accoutrements in a bad condition. It will occupy several days yet before we will be in marching trim. We all think we will go to Batesville when we move, though may not, — I should be glad to go down the river or nearer civilization. I suppose an expedition from below will meet us — I would that the 26th might be with it. I heard of the Battle of Ark. Post.¹⁸⁵ am thankful the boys are safe — but if they go to Vixburg they may again be endangered, but we enlisted to fight our enemies & must not flinch even in the hour of danger

We have been as ignorant as heathens down [here] No chance to get mail. Our mail has been robbed two or three times, I suppose the girls letters were lost — I thought you were never going to write I said I had not reed the box you sent, although I have heard that it was at Springfield of cours if I have a chance I will send for it. I sent Emma & Mary the books I got at Vanburen & of which I wrote about in my last as I had to carry them in my saddlebags and have them throwing about while reading I left my mark on them (dirt) I also wrote concerning the Shibleys — I reed the mittens & Emmas letter & ans — from Fayetteville informing me of the box the last from any but yours of Jan. 23rd

¹⁸⁵ Arkansas Post, a Confederate fort on the Arkansas River, was captured on January 11, 1863, by a Union land and gunboat force under General McClernand and Admiral Porter. Nearly 5000 prisoners were taken, but the Confederates, because of their sheltered position, lost only 60 killed and 75 or 80 wounded, while the Union loss in killed and wounded was 1061.— *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, Vol. III, pp. 452, 453.

The weather is very mild now geting quite dry. The anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans was pretty well celebrated, not only at Springfield by fighting, but at *home*, all hail to Sarah & my *wee neice*.

We have not reed pay yet but as I told Emma in my last I will send it as soon as I get it —
I have my hors to get shod so must close My love to all —
do write often

Your Obedient Son

W. O. Gulick

Fred & Isaac are
well — all thanks
for the stamps

Forsyth Mo., March 24th/63
Co. M., 1st Iowa Cavl.

Dear Bro. Parkes

I have written two letters home since I reed any, but attribute their non appearance to the mails & rather than have you much concerned about my welfare I do not hesitate to write again. & much *more* it is a long time since I reed *from*, or wrote *you* a letter. As we are detached from our Reg. & Div. our mail has a round about way to travel, makeing it tardy & uncertain.

I learn our Div. has moved on East must be near Iron-ton.¹⁸⁶ I wish we could join our Command & thus “get out of the wilderness.” Indeed it is but little else here than a wilderness, We are more than Forty miles from any body. Our poor horses have to suffer for feed & do the same duty as when in the best condition. All we have for them is corn

¹⁸⁶ Iron-ton, the county seat of Iron County, Missouri, is 75 miles south of St. Louis. It is closely adjoined on the north by the village of Pilot Knob and on the south by the village of Arcadia. On February 16, 1863, the entire Third Division (except companies B and M of the First Iowa Cavalry and the 19th Iowa Infantry) had moved out for Lake Springs, in Dent County, about halfway between Forsyth and St. Louis.

and that we have to draw 40 miles, generally from Ark. but that is no easy job as the *Butternuts*¹⁸⁷ are getting pretty thick down there. By the way, we had quite an adventure the last trip. We had about 120 men Inf't. & Cav'l with the train. We had got well loaded with corn and some other plunder & half days march on our way back, when just as we moved out next morn, we discovered that 250 of the Rebels had planted themselves directly in front of us, in line of Battle extending some ways either side of the road. & about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile ahead, we formed *our* line in front of Train Cav'l on each plank Inf't in centre. Now 8 volunteers were called for to go in advance, Your Bro. could not stand the pressure so I made one of the No. We soon met the enemies advance who gave us a shot. We replied with a volley which sent them in "double quick time" to their command. In the mean time our line moved forward and gained a good position 80 rods from the *rebs*, We could scarcely see them as the timber was very thick. However 2 vols. were called for to reconoitre. Again I was one of the number. We soon discovered the enemy had dismounted & were advancing but stoped after 20 rods march, Sixty (60) rods from us. It seemed they wanted us to leave our good position, but our noble Capt. Crosley [Crosby] who was in command would not be foolished in that way, as we were the least party & a train to guard, the taking of which was the object of the secesh. The rebels kept their position for more than an hour and finally concluded, although little firing had been done, they would have to pay too dear for the whistle & left us. We could not follow them far with safety to our train. So we came in camp without farther molestation, or without giving them the whipping they so much deserved.

¹⁸⁷ Add "butternuts" to the not inconsiderable list of nicknames that Guelick has employed to designate the enemy.

Not long since reports became so current that Marmaduke was agoing to attack this place, that they sent us 200 Inft. & 4 pieces of Artillery as reinforcements. Still I dont believe he can muster spunk enough to fight us, although we No. less than 1000

The weather here is beautiful tho trees are quite green & grass is nearly large enough for grazing. The boys are bathing in the river every day the few farmers that are here are plowing & sowing. It must be early for to till the ground with you, still I presume it will be your occupation this season undoubtedly you will have to work hard as help will be scarce — still keep up good courage & remember for what the grain is raised or the use it is put to. It is the best way you con serve your country I am glad the draft cannot touch you I think it is as good a bill as could have been passed. I feel anxious to know what bearing the draft will have on Richard & Charley. If it is their lot to go I hope my sisters will spare them with out too much grief. They can then truly say “Our hearts are with the heroes that defend our glorious flag.” Tell our folks to write often & tell me the condition of their home. is the hous painted yet or what other improve has been in our place or the town.

I reed, a letter from Woody but as he did not give his adress I can not ans. please inform me. We have not reed pay yet. I sent Emma a letter with a few lines & small present to Mary. has it arrived. Fred & Isaac went to Springfield the last detail there I have not heard from Henry or John yet. Write every thing & often Much love to all

Your Aff bro. W. O. Gulick

I saw Edies likeness when you
can send me yours,

P.S. Yesterday our reinforcements went back to Springfield Artillery & Inft. both. To day much excitement pre-

vails, from a report that Marmaduke is advancing on us. The day has been very busy with us throwing up Breast-works. Reinforcements are again sent for. I apprehend little danger.

W. O. Gulick

Lake Springs Mo.

Tuesday May 26th 1863

Dear Mother.

I have arrived safely in the land of hard bread & bacon. I certainly have no reason to regret it, for I found our Regt camped in a beautiful place, with plenty of large shad[e] trees, good water & so near Rolla that we lack nothing for our selves or horses.

Besides there is a prospect of our remaining here some time — which, if we *do* will be very pleasant for us & will afford our horses the recruiting they so much need. I found my horse in a fine flourishing condition from the good care Gorham gave him. *but in no condition to throw me.* Although he feels the oats he has been having since here.

I found it very easy to conform to camp life — but that I might be thoroughly reinitiated I was detailed (with others) to escort a train to Salem¹⁸⁸ & back the first day after my arrival, (Sunday) the distance was *twice thirteen* miles & to say it was dusty would not express it at all. The dust was raised in clouds by the wagons as well as our selves. & as our road was through a timbered country no ordinary breeze could waft it from us, but we *did* survive it *just like soldiers* & found our selves in camp soon after dark partaking of a good supper with bread & *butter* for desert. Monday morn, as well as *this* found us in good condition for Battalion Drill. We are coming down to the old style of

¹⁸⁸ Salem is the county seat of Dent County, Missouri. By this time companies B and M had rejoined the remainder of the regiment at Lake Springs.

camp duty drill — have carbine drill in P.M. so during the heat of the day (except every 4th or 5th) we can lay in the shade We have our new arms. I have two revolvers army size & saber The Non-Coms have Two Revl while the boys have one Revl & carbine & saber I think we could make our mark now if we had the oppor-Ra-chunity Our boys done well at Cape Girardeau ¹⁸⁹ Only had six or Seven wounded a few horses killed — but they say the papers exaggerated very much in the report of their charge. They consider it a trifle compared with some other Skirmishing they have done — But the Rebs in this country have learned to run while tis the reberse in the East. We have glorious news from Vixburgh.¹⁹⁰ I most believe the western army will have to take Richmond if it is ever *taken* & if *Vixburgh's* taken will be good opening for us to move East.

By the way we get the news almost as quick as you do for we take the St. Louis Democrat & have it brought to our tent By a Brigade news dealer He furnishes us with any kind of reading matter at reasonable prices I delivered the several packages I brought down, the boys were very grateful for them. Ic,c, [Isaac] thinks he may come by & by but as yet has had no opportunity Two of our boys are going to go home to morrow. Furloughs are cut down to only Twenty days, so Fred & I were in luck you see comeing as we did. It might be interesting to give the details of my return trip, so takeing it for granted that it would I commence with Camanche where I met Fred, who had come up from Lyons with a carriage (having missed the morning train) he wanted me to go down with him, I had to accede after going to Camanche to bid his friends *goodbye* we

¹⁸⁹ The repulse of Marmaduke's attack on Cape Girardeau, April 26, 1863. The actual Union losses were 3 killed and 19 wounded.— *Official Records: War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, p. 305.

¹⁹⁰ Grant's army was steadily closing in on Vicksburg and cutting it off from communication with the outer world. Its fall came on July 4th.

struck out for Lyons Sundown found us there. I done my little business up, crossed the river in Skiff & took the train for Dixon at midnight The train did not connect with the Ill. C. R. R. train so we remained in Dixon until Wednesday noon. (We met Rice and McDonal¹⁹¹ from our co, here by them we learned the whereabouts of our Regt.) We next arrived at Bloomington were again detained nearly all night. took morning Train for St. Louis (passed Springfield about Nine oclock A.M. did not see mrs. Fralick) arrived at St. Louis about noon & at the City hotel time for a fashionable dinner (One ocl'k) after riding to nearly every other hotel in the City in a great long Omnibuss that in the narrow Streets of St. L. had to drive round block to turn round. I met a number of our own boys while out walking, & attended the Theater or Varieties in the evening had a pleasant time. I send you a bill or programe. If you could see the performance you would think the entertainment good Up to this time we had paid full fare on the railroad, we took the morning train for Rolla, & after riding nearly all day over a crooked & poor R. R. through a miserable country we landed at the desired station in the midst of a short rain storm. The next day Saturday we joined our Regt. & Co. Twelve miles S. W. of Rolla.

There is little or no sickness in our camp Our new Brass or Silver Band is organized & practice every day. Some of the Regts are being paid off Our turn will come next — I guess This P.M. is appearance of rain well we need it — very much. Crops are poor here. Caused by drowth Tell Mary, Emma, Parkes, & all to write By the way how does the Low Moor School progress & every thing in general I have written in great hast So excuse all errors Much love to all — Your aff. Son

W. O. Gulick

¹⁹¹ Private (formerly Sergeant and later Quartermaster Sergeant) George W. Rice, and Private Jacob McDonald, both of Company M.

Direct Via St. Louis

Co — & Regt.

P. S. Address Co. M. 1st Ia Cavl

Via St. Louis Mo.

Pilot Knob Mo. June 23rd 1863

Dear cousin Woodworth.

It is a very long time indeed, since I recd your most worthy & welcome letter. I have been very dilatory with this my ans. My only excuse is want of time & conveniences for writing. Though I confess no one *ought* to be so engaged under any circumstances as to prevent a correspondence between friends & relatives. Nevertheless if you knew any thing of a soldiers life you would readily admit that *it* (soldiering) is the most unfavorable position a man can well be placed in for writing. Then I have learned of your health Uncle Smith & business Via. home. I suppose you also have been posted concerning my health & whereabouts consequently no uneasiness could arise with either of us. I have but recently returned from a very pleasant visit home during which time I enjoyed myself hugely. I regret however that you & Uncle Smith were not there to participate in the pleasure rides visits & c, but it seems my fortune to be *absent* when *Uncle Smith comes*.

I *said* I *enjoyed* my self. Is it a *wonder*. After so long an absence, during which time a person is continually exposed to danger & disease isasmuch as we are exposed to the weather. Our couch consisting of blanket on the some times wet & muddy earth, & to awake nearly every morning with the rural dampness on our brows. I say no wonder that a person can enjoy a feather bed in a tidy room, & after a peacefull & undisturbed nights repose a steaming breakfast choicely prepared on a stainless white table spread was a comfort and luxury. I think I can fully appreciate the endearments & comforts of home. With others

of my friends I saw your friend Sarah Hindman. She is fresh as a rose & her flaxen hair is to my tast & satisfaction a shad[e] darker. She is fast approaching maturity & woman-hood. We did not fail to have a hearty laugh concerning a certain valentine.

Mr. Hindman boards the school mistress again who very much resembles *Miss Cowl*. Yet she does not take as well at Uncle A.s or Ralston for they both send to the Low Moor school taught by Henry Judson, but of all this you know by Marys letters. And if I would interest you it must be concerning my own travels & adventures which are of late quite limited. When I recd your letters we were posted down in the S. W. *wilderness*, or on the White river near the border of Arkansas where we had a plenty to do in the way of scouting down among the rebels. Then a soldiers life was attended with some excitement & adventure. But for the want of forage & subsistence & a lack, or want, of rebels to fight, we moved back to the R. R. at Rolla, from which place I obtained my furlough. Our *Regt.* enjoyed a season of rest here, but soon after my return we were ordered to Pilot knob. Where I learn we are to participate in an expedition south I suppose to *Little Rock Ark.* The force here said to belong to the expedition is about Ten thousand. Will probably move after the siege of Vicksburg is terminated. (in our favor) That cooperation of the Gunboats with us in opening the river (Ark.) will make us sufficiently strong for the work. Great preparations have been made — We can not move too soon to suit me, for nothing a soldier likes more than activity & the consequent excitement.

Our army is again active, & if our *Generals* are energetic & *plan* as well as our soldiers *fight*, the rebellion must soon be quelled

Incompetent leaders has been almost an irremediable fault with us. Oh! that *Wirepulling*, *money making* & Jeal-

ousy may be cast aside, & a thorough prosecution of the [war] be enforced. The copperheads cause an other source of annoyance to the soldier, fortunately I did not see any while home. At least could not get in conversation with any. perhaps they knew *mine* would have been a *knock down* argument in earnest. Be that as it *may*, I can inform them that it would be a unanimous request of the soldiers to record their names that their blood might be made to answer] for their treasonable practices. Bid them *beware* lest they be destroyed by an indignant and outraged Union Soldier — Wrath is accumulating, and when the soldiers return they will feel its deadly weight.

I suppose you are still attending school, storing your mind with useful knowledge — continue to do so you will not regret it I feel I am losing my best time for study, but am determined to make it up if I am spared during the war. I am well satisfied to remain until the last traitor is hung.

Now wishing you & Uncle success sending my love to my relatives, with your self a share, a request to hear from you soon. I subscribe myself a Military Child of Uncle Abraham

W. O. Gulick

In my next will describe the Iron Mts.

mines & c The country in General

No time now W. O. G.

Arcadaia Mo. June 27th/63

Dear cousin Mary.

Your welcome letter came to hand by yesterdays mail. As you had been very prompt in writing, I thought it best to follow suit, especially since there is so much *uncertainty* about the time of moving. You will see by the address above that we have moved camp. Although it is but a short distance only three miles. Pilot Knob, Ironton & this place,

Arcadia, are three small towns almost connected. Pilot Knob being the terminus of the R. R. and Arcadia the outpost, or most southern point, & the most strongly fortified. The reports concerning our move are many & the conflicting, for my part cant tell *any thing* more than we are fit[t]ing out for some place & will b[p]robably wait untill the siege of Vicksburg is terminated in our favor. That, in case we go through to the Ark. river the Gunboats could cooperate. It seems most likely that will be the case. & Although the expedition is most sure to go by some chance or other Our Regt. might be sent some where else — or even remain here, Which I hope will not be, for inactivity is as disagreeable to *me* as it is ruinous to the country. The papers tell us of *activity & excitement* in the east.¹⁹² *Glad to hear it* although at present affairs in that department wear rather a gloomy aspect. May be it will rouse the dormant spirit of some of those Penn. & N.Y. property holders who hitherto have been regardless of the prog of the war — whether adverse or successful I have confidence in Hookers ability to defe[at] the rebels. never-the-less if we meet with disast[er] I shall ascribe it to *him*, for I believe the army, properly *managed*, can withstand any force the rebels can send.

Our Gen. is a stranger to us — dont like him very well though he may prove himself good in a fight — his name is Davidson.¹⁹³ was a Lt. & prisoner of Camp Jackson notor-

¹⁹² This "excitement" was well founded, as Lee was even then dashing through Maryland into Pennsylvania. It was this invasion that culminated in the battle of Gettysburg. Well might the "Penn. & N. Y. property holders" begin to regard anxiously "the prog. of the war".

¹⁹³ Brigadier General John W. Davidson now took charge of the 6000 cavalry gathered at St. Louis. With them he planned to move south and form a junction with Major General Frederick Steele's infantry which should move up from Helena on the Mississippi. Their plan was then to "break up Price and occupy Little Rock."— *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, Vol. III, pp. 453, 456-457.

iety. I regret that Herron had to leave us. He has gone to reap *honors & glory* in the field at Vicksburg — he occupies (as you have already seen) the left flank. I really wish we were with him although it might not be so healthy for us

We are quite pleasantly situated here — but as it has rained for the last five days nearly all the time we have been confined in our kennels which is quite disagreeable as one has to *lay down to stand up*, or straighten. Dont care though

We had been out Three days after forage & arrived at the river about noon Sunday with Sixteen loads corn — A new boat had been constructed & was on the line — But the Ferryman did not understand the management of it properly. Consequently the Fourth load (I having crossed the Second) the pulley broke causing a jar. the boat swamped & sank leaving more than Thirty men with Two loads & teams struggling in the merciless water. The river is wide deap & swift none or little assistance could be rendered Some were fortunate enough to gain “*Terra firma*” after being washed down more than a mile & alas six sank to rise no more alive. Kelly of Co. B. among the No. Six of Our Co. were on the boat but all swam ashore but somewhat chilled

They have been engaged fishing for the lost since, but none have been found except one Corp. of Co. A, who was drowned some time ago.

I wrote Cynthia a hurried letter some days ago a poor excuse to the good one I recd — I have not recd a letter from Henry or John yet should like to know something of them. Tis dark — As I said the mail has come. supper over. Candle lighted & I finish this a more lengthy letter than I had supposed

Oh the Conscript bill has passed. *good news enough for once* perhaps the copperheads will resist it. if they do they

are just as sure doomed as though their *necks were in the halter*. I only hope the draft will hit the right ones — but I believe provisions are made that are all *right*. I just *recd* a letter from Woody & right glad was I to hear from him & see how well he does in writing Why dont Parkes & Mary write, in fact why dont all write. I should like to hear from My Brotherinlaws and know what was going on in their line of business, & what they think the future prospects are in regard to war. I hear that Lefingwell is makeing conservative speeches. becaus he could not (through his own drunkenness) gain wealth & rank in the servis. *does he turn traitor if so, hang him.*

The night has set in dark & rainy The boys out will have a sweet time. they are used to it however Give my love to all excuse the many errors as I have written in haste

Aseverdear Sisteryour Aff. Brother W. O. Gulick

P. S. Will cross river to night or in morning Fred
& Isaac both well

Clarendon¹⁹⁴ Ark. Aug. 18th/63

Dear Sister Cynthia

Yours of the 18th ult. came to hand yesterday. It seems a very long time for a letter to be on the way, but since we left Bloomfield Mo. (Where I wrote last & just one month ago) our communication has been kept open on the small scale, at least not so as to carry mail matter untill of late we communicate with Helena. I had expected to get a letter in ans. to mine from Bloomfield but did not, had a mind not to write yet, but felt sorry to have you in trouble about me. So concluded to releive you of any fears or suspense you may be laboring under. We left Bloomfield the next day after I wrote you. Two days & one *nights* march

¹⁹⁴ This was the county seat of Monroe County, Arkansas, 60 miles due east of Little Rock. Here the Union expedition crossed the White River.

with all its difficulties brought us to Chalk Bluff on the St. Francis crossed on Pontoon bridge, remained one day in Camp when we resumed our march, for *where we knew not*. For several days our march continued nearly south passing successavely the small towns of Gainsvill, Greenville, Goldsborough Jonesborough Harrisburg. All small inferior towns were in peacible times, *now* entirely deserted & desolate. We made several night march some during storms which I know would not be pleasant to any body but *us Soldiers*. As we ploded along through the darkness only seeing ones file leader by the flashes of lightening every now & again some unfortunate soldier & horse plungeing headlong in a dark & treacherous ditch & often the unsuspecting soldier as riding sleepily along (although drenching wet) was struck smartly in face by a thorny branch or hat genteely tossed in mud to be trameled in by a thousand succeeding hoofs — all this together with a fair prospect of bucking to the rebs at day break we passed in the best of spirits. I *say* enjoyed *it*, there is an excitement something wild & grand that I like. But to go on with our expedition We made detours to the right & left toward the St. Francis & White rivers all our scouting was attended with some bush wacking or skirmishing but up to our arrival at St. Francis landing or Wittsburg (not far above Madison) & where we remained several days) I only know of Two or three wounded. After resting several days (& sending despatches to Helena¹⁹⁵ by a detale from our Regt., Who cut their way through several hundred rebels with out the loss of a man killed We resumed our march South crossed the Langville river & when within forty miles of Helena changed direction by the left flank and after three days travel across a miserable low swampy country we arrived

¹⁹⁵ The county seat of Phillips County, Arkansas, on the Mississippi about 40 miles southeast of Clarendon.

at this place *Clarendon* Situated on White river about One hundred miles above its mouth & Sixty miles east from Little Rock. The country as far south as the Langville river is called Cowleys ridge a midling good country for Ark. The people are very ignorant and the large plantations are mostly deserted The village of log huts on each plantation known as Negro quarters are blank & vacant & the large fields once teeming with cotton are now idle, or as far as the scanty labor would admit of planted with corn. As we travel through this country we *make a hole* in the corn fields. Up to our arrival here we captured must be hundreds of prisoners had a number wounded Two or three killed in the whole division.

We have been here now Ten days The river is patrolled by Gunboats. have captured to rebel steamers. The "Tom Sugg" & "Kaskaskia" are kept busy shelling rebes who show them selves on the opposite side. Two Brig. of Inf. & Several Batteries have come in from Helena also some cavl More troops are expected. Gen Steel came in today will have command his name certainly sounds better to me than Davidson — although Davidson is better than we expected

Our Cavl Div. commenced crossing yesterday. last night they were fighting all night the Gunboats kept up afire shelling the rebs. does not amout to much the rebes. only intend to harrass our advance & this is what our Cavl Div. is for. I dont beleive the rebels under Price & Marmaduke will attempt a stand this side of Little Rock even if they do ther.

This expedition is fiting out for Little Rock or any other place where the rebels may make a stand This will be a base of supplies a very good place I should judge We have had a good time scouting have brought in negros by the hundred have them do all our dirty work & they are well satis-

fied at that but some of the women & children look pitiful. They have had a hard row to hoe for a long time, have been hid out in the swamps with mules & cattle, some times. We find plenty of Meat flour & rations with valuable of all kinds. Fruit grows in abundance Peaches especialy. They grow almost spontaneously.

The people are to indolent to raise fruit. I wish I could send you some of the peaches we have here. Only ten to twelve inches in circumference We are having as good times now as could be expected, but we are ignorant of outside matters We can only learn by hearsay of our Success & general forward movement I feel indignant toward New York & the authorities there for not using harsher means to quell the riot.¹⁹⁶ [“] Blank cartridges.” tis only playing with them like playing with the rebels when we first began I was glad to learn you had got through with harvest so well. The crops here are not worth much. must be produce will be high if the war continues.

Now since Saddles are plenty I have no way of sending Charlie or Rich one as I would like to do I suppose you are enjoying a visit ere this from Uncle Jacob & Aunt Betsy Uncle Smith & maybe other Well enjoy your selves while you may or at anything you can, thats my way — twill be my turn to visit next year this time. The draft must have passed ere this let me know who are considered the unfortunate Write all the news and often. Do not be uneasy if you do not hear from me very soon. Ill write from Little Rock any way Excuse the many errors give my love to all

Your ever aff. brother

W. O. Gulick

¹⁹⁶ The anti-draft riots in New York City about the middle of July, 1863. Because of the laxity of the local Tammany administration in performing its duty, this disgraceful affair lasted several days and destroyed considerable property and some life before the Federal troops could arrive and restore order. It certainly was “aid and comfort to the enemy”.

Camp near Brownsvill, Ark
Sept 2nd 1863

Mrs. Wagner.

I haistily drop you a few lines this morning to notify you of Billies. sinking condition. he has commenced to fail fast and I am sorry to say there is but little hopes of his recovery. altho he has had as good car[e] as could be given where we now are. I have been with him most of the time, night and day, and shall not leave him at all untill ther is a change. I was up with him most of last night. his leg pained him prety bad.

The Doctors say they have but little hope of him How I do wish you could see him. Noble Boy. It seems like death for me to part with him. I have talked with all the Doctors, and entreated them to spare nothing for they should have evrything as far a means and help was required. Isack is watching him while I write. he is not well. has the Ague evry other day. Billy is rational, only flighty at times under the influence of his Stimulants. it seams to me I never can stand it for he seems like my only friend, and nearer than all others. Can I ever be happy. It seems as thoe I never could. "I will write soon, Again." Do not think of coming down by any means. Good Bye

From a Friend and Sympathiser

F. Wilkes

P. S.

Our troops moved last night and this morning for Little Rock." F.R.W.

Camp near Little Rock, Ark.('')
September 22nd, 1863.'''¹⁹⁷

Mrs. Jones.

By last eavnings mail came your kind letter directed to

¹⁹⁷ Fred Wilkes's letter to William Gulick's sister, Mrs. Cynthia Jones, tells

your dear Brother Billy, which in his lonely absence, I took the liberty to open, as I saw it was from home.('') I see by the date of your letter, which is Aug 31st that it takes three weeks for a letter to reach you, so it will be near the date of this before you will hear the sad Intelligence of his Mournfull death, althoe I have been looking anxiously for the past two or three days for a letter from your folkes after they have recd my first. How often have I thought of you since the mailing of my first, how anxiously you would await the receipt of another, which should the bear the glad tidings of his doing well and a speedy recovery, which was no more than you would expect from the assurances given in my first, not only by me, but in his own Signatres of his doing so well. how unsuspectingly did I suspect his fate when such cheering and hearty assurances were given me of so sucessful an Amputation by all the Surgeons, and of the little doubts they inferd of his speedy recovery little did I think it, and as I sat by him, how anxiously did I look forward to the time, which I thought was not far distant, when I should again see him as hearty and cheerfull as he was always wont to be, and how often did I think of the consolation it would be to me, that althoe we could not be together, to write too, and hear from him, and in a few monthes, if God see fit to spare my life, that I would again see him at home, where we could reiterate the many good times we have had together.('') Oh: it makes my heart feel sick to think of it. I cannot realize that I am never to see that Gracious boy again but so it must be. how thunderstruck I was when the Doctor told me the fourth day the turn it had taken and the little hopes he had of his recovery. I could not beleive it: Why could it be so, while others laying all around him were doing so well. Why should I so be thus bereft! It

its own story and is substantially accurate as to the details of Gulick's death, as well as of the capture of Little Rock, the main objective of this campaign. It thus constitutes a fitting epilogue to this series of letters.

could not have been for care or attention. No, Never, too many an anxious and warm friend was near him to see him one moment neglected.('') Poor Boy, he thought not of death but looked anxiously forward to the five days when he should again be with friends at Home. he talked of his Schooling which he was aware he should have to rely upon in future, and many were the assurances given him, that for nothing from liberal hands he should want.('') You will see by this that we are at last at the Capitol of Ark. One Cavl Div came in on the 10th Inst. with but very little resistance to what might have been expected. As Our Generals compleatly Out-generaled Old Price and made him leave his long lines of entrenchments and heavy packs without firing even a shot as we crossed the river on a pontoon bridge seven miles below the City which compleatly surprised them all and made them leave their works on the other side very hastily for fear of being cut off alltogather which they undoubtedly would, had they not left.('') Our loss was small, not much exceeding fifty in killed and wounded. Our Reg lost but one man killed, and less than a dozen wounded, althoe they were in the fresh[?] all day, and we now are in quiet and undisputed possession of the City and country for a long distance around.('') Little Rock is a very prety place, and business is getting quite spired and evrything bids fair for Our Reg. to stay here all winter. Oh! how I should enjoy it was Billy only with me, but as it is I enjoy nothing. it seems as if my only Friend was gone, and I can take no comfort at all. How glad I am that we went home together. I will never forget or regret it, but I must stop. Please remember me to all you folks as a friend and one who can deeply sympathis with you all in your lonly and bereft condition.

P. S. I packed Billies things in a box and sent them to

Helena by one Sutler who went through last week giving him instructions to Express it to Low Moor from there. he has not returned yet. this was the only way I had of sending it through and I thought I would send it as soon as possible, for I did not know how long we would stay Isaak is well.

Good Bye

Yours with Respect

F. R. Wilkes

SOME PUBLICATIONS

The Mound-Builders. By Henry Clyde Shetrone. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1930. Pp. 508. Plates, maps. According to the author, the volume on the mound-builders is an attempt to afford an answer to the frequent query, "Where can I find a book that will give me the important facts regarding the Mound-builders?" Mr. Shetrone has well achieved his purpose. *The Mound-Builders* presents a very readable and instructive account of the prehistoric inhabitants of the area of the United States.

The first seven chapters deal with the mound-builders in general, the theories as to their origin, the distribution and classification of the mounds, their architecture and engineering, and the customs and beliefs of the mound-builders. Twelve chapters are devoted to a discussion of the various geographical mound areas and the twentieth and last chapter is a summary.

The book is profusely illustrated, containing nearly three hundred plates and maps. There is also a bibliography and an index. Attractive printing and binding add to the value of the volume.

Thomas D. Foster. By R. Ames Montgomery. Privately printed. 1930. Pp. 234. Plates. This is the biography of Thomas Dove Foster, who was born at Bradford, England, on November 25, 1847, came to the United States in July, 1868, and located at Ottumwa, Iowa, in August, 1878. For many years Mr. Foster was president of the John Morrell & Co. packing plant at Ottumwa and the volume contains much historical material concerning this industry. The biography also contains many interesting descriptions and anecdotes. Among these is an account of the Chicago fire, written by Mr. Foster. Although Mr. Foster was primarily a business man, the volume tells also of his domestic life, his religion, and his work as a citizen.

Cree Trickster Tales, by E. Ahenakew; and *The Sun Dance of the Oglala Sioux*, by Ella Deloria, are the two articles in *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* for October-December, 1929.

The two contributions in *The Filson Club History Quarterly* for July are: *Certain Phases of the Origin of Louisville*, by Carl Bernhardt; and *Louisville in the Eighteen Fifties*, by A. J. Webster.

The July-September issue of the *American Anthropologist* contains an article on *Prehistoric North American Basketry Techniques and Modern Distributions*, by Gene Weltfish. Another article in this number is *The Spirit Theory in Early Medicine*, by John Lee Maddox.

The Overland Mail, by LeRoy R. Hafen, has been issued in book form by the Arthur H. Clark Company. The study covers the period from 1849-1869, and includes the various means of transporting mail during the two decades preceding the opening of the railroad. The volume is attractive in printing and binding and contains a number of illustrations, a bibliography, and an index.

The July issue of *The American Historical Review* contains the following papers: *The Stamp Act in British Politics*, by William T. Laprade; *General Robert E. Lee's Horse Supply, 1862-1865*, by Charles W. Ramsdell; and *Chinese Historical Studies during the Past Nine Years*, by Kenneth Scott Latourette. Under the head of *Documents* J. F. Jameson contributes *The London Expenditures of the Confederate Secret Service*.

The April issue of *Agricultural History* contains two articles: *Economic Efficiency and Competitive Advantages of Slavery Under the Plantation System*, by L. C. Gray; and *The History of American Wheat Improvement*, by Carleton R. Ball. The July number contains *Southern Agriculture and Southern Nationalism Before the Civil War*, by E. Merton Coulter; and *Making a Farm on the Frontier; Extracts from the Diaries of Mitchell Young Jackson*, selected by Solon J. Buck.

WESTERN AMERICANA

Captain John Brown and Harper's Ferry, a monograph by Boyd B. Stutler, has been published in pamphlet form by Storer College.

The *Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee*, dated June 15, 1930, contains an account of *The Kletzien and Nitschke Mound Groups*, by W. C. McKern.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has recently issued the first volume in the *Wisconsin Biography Series*. This is *Carl Schurz, Militant Liberal*, by Joseph Schafer.

The Board of Surveys and Maps of the Federal government has recently issued a preliminary statement giving the area of the United States in 1783, the area of the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, and the area of the Territories and States formed since 1783. The summary was compiled by E. M. Douglas.

Pictorial Ohio, a guide book to the places of historical interest in Ohio counties, has recently been published by the Standard Oil Company. It was compiled and edited by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society and the State Department of Education. A large map of Ohio with the roads plainly marked is included.

The April issue of the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* contains the following articles: *Inkpaduta and Sons*, by Joseph Henry Taylor; *Bloody Knife and Gall*, also by Mr. Taylor; *The Earth Lodge*, by Russell Reid; and *Civil War Letters of E. H. Frank*.

The Martyrs of New France, by Georges Rigault; *The Winnebago Mission: a Cause Célèbre*, by Matthias M. Hoffman; and *Senator Thomas Henry Carter*, by Laurence P. McHattie, are the three papers which appear in *Mid-America* for July. Under *Documents* is *The First Illinois Wheat*, with an introduction by Sister Mary Borgias.

The June number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains the following papers: *Albert J. Beveridge: Biographer*, by Richard Arnold Tilden; *Presbyterianism in Princeton, Indiana, From 1810 to 1930*, by Robert Archer Woods; *Distribution of the Birthplaces of Indianians in 1870*, by Stephen S. Visser; *Disposal of Negro Slaves by Will in Knox County, Indiana*, by Earl E. McDonald; and *Members of the Indiana Constitutional Convention of 1816*, by the Indiana Legislative Bureau.

History of Educational Legislation in Ohio, 1851-1925, by Nelson L. Bossing; and *An Early Proposal for a State Polytechnic School*, by Roscoe H. Eckelberry, are the two papers in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for April. An account of *The Ohio History Conference* with the principal address by Benj. F. Shambaugh is included in this number.

“*By Invitation of Mrs. Wilkinson*” — *An Incident of Life at Fort Fayette*, by Mrs. Elvert M. Davis; *School Girls of 1850*, by Mrs. William A. Collins; *Pittsburgh's Awakening One Hundred Years Ago*, by John W. Oliver; *The Liquor Question in Colonial and Revolutionary War Periods*, by Fleming Nevin; and *A Pennsylvania Land Sale Project*, by Maurice Kelly, appear in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for July.

Barbed Stone Axes, by Charles E. Brown; *The Bear Dance of the Ouray Utes*, by Albert B. Reagan; and *Hopewell and Cahokia Cultures in Wisconsin*, by W. C. McKern are three short papers in *The Wisconsin Archeologist* for April. The number also contains a short description of the Kohler Museum, biographical sketches of Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg and Gerard Fowke, and accounts of the Central Section of the American Anthropological Society and the State Archaeological Survey in 1929.

The July issue of *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* contains the following papers and articles: a contribution of *History in Circuit Court Records*, abstracted by Charles R. Staples; *The Boone-Bryan History*, by J. D. Bryan; *Additional Facts About Boone*, by Mrs. Jennie C. Morton; an account of the Henderson Memorial Celebration at Henderson, Kentucky, on October 11, 1929; *John Filson's Book and Map: Kentucke, 1784*, by Willard Rouse Jillson; and *Early Sketches on Kentucky Geology*, also by Willard Rouse Jillson.

The Washington Historical Quarterly for July contains the following articles: *The Covered Wagon Centennial*, by Joseph Ellison; *The Attempt to Capture the Brig Otter*, by F. W. Howay; *Historic Bread Riot in Virginia City*, by W. M. Underhill; *Biographical Sketch of Captain William Moore*, by C. L. Andrews;

and an installment of *The North Idaho Annexation Issue*, by C. S. Kingston. This issue also contains *Our First Official Horticulturist*, a journal of William Dunlop Brackenridge, edited by O. B. Sperlin.

The July issue of *The Missouri Historical Review* contains the following articles: *Mark Twain's Early Writings Discovered*, by C. J. Armstrong; *David R. Atchison*, by Theodore C. Atchison; *Nathan Chapman Kouns*, by Robert F. Walker; *An Account of Spanish Louisiana, 1785*, by A. P. Nasatir; *Selling Missouri Mules Down South in 1835*, by Frederic A. Culmer; part two of *Experiences of Lewis Bissell Dougherty on the Oregon Trail*, by Ethel Massie Withers; and chapter three of *Public Opinion and the Inflation Movement in Missouri, 1875-1879*, by J. A. Leach.

The Beginning of British Trade at Michilimackinac, by Marjorie Gordon Jackson, and *Early Milling in the Cannon River Valley*, by Paul R. Fossum, are the two articles included in *Minnesota History* for September. There is, in addition, an account of the State Historical Convention held in various cities of Minnesota on June 13 and 14, 1930. Under *Notes and Documents*, Robert K. Boyd contributes *How the Indians Fought: A New Era in Skirmish Fighting*.

Mackinac Island Under French, English and American, by Hazel Fenton Schermerhorn; *Pioneer Finnish Settlement in Michigan*, by pupils of the Askel School, Otter Lake; *The Conquest of St. Joseph, Michigan, by the Spaniards in 1781*, by Clarence W. Alvord; *The Moore-Hascall Harvester Centennial Approaches*, by F. Hal Higgins; *Reminiscences of the Lumber Camp*, by A. S. Draper; and *History of the Michigan Federation of Women's Clubs*, by Irma T. Jones, are articles appearing in the summer number of the *Michigan History Magazine*. A *Directory of Michigan Museums*, by Geneva Smithe, is also contained in this issue.

The September number of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains the following papers: *The Pre-Revolutionary Revolt in the Old Southwest*, by Archibald Henderson; *Republicanism and State Rights in Wisconsin*, by James L. Sellers; *The*

Intrigues of Doctor James O'Fallon, by John Carl Parish; and *John Fiske*, by J. B. Sanders. Under the head of *Documents* there is *The Smallpox Epidemic on the Upper Missouri*, edited by M. M. Quaife. William O. Lynch contributes the account of the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Chattanooga.

The January number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* contains the following papers and articles: *New Salem: Early Chapter in Lincoln's Life*, by Josephine Craven Chandler; *Sketch of Charles James Fox Clarke with Letters to His Mother*, by Charles R. Clarke; *Lincoln in the Campaign of 1856*, by Earl Wellington Wiley; and *Early Mills in Illinois*, by Anna Kathryn Hurie. There is also an account of the anniversary celebration of the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Freeport, Illinois, by Albert O. Barton, and a similar account of the debate at Alton, Illinois, by W. D. Armstrong. *Richard Yates. His Record as Civil War Governor of Illinois*, by E. L. Kimball; *Mount Joliet: Its Place in Illinois History and its Location*, by Robert Knight and Lucius Zeuch; *James Hall in Vandalia*, by Esther Shultz; *Asiatic Cholera in Central Illinois, 1834-1873*, by Milo Custer; *Douglas the Loyal*, by James Pollock; *Final Interment of President Abraham Lincoln's Remains at the Lincoln Monument in Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois*, by Arthur L. Meriam; *Portrait of a Pioneer Printer*, by Philip D. Jordan; and *Special Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, Sponsored by the Will County Historical Society* are the articles and papers in the April issue.

Number 74 of the *Bulletin of the National Research Council* contains a *Report of the Conference on Midwestern Archaeology, Held in St. Louis, Missouri, May 18, 1929*. Among the papers read at the meeting were the following: "The Conservation of Public Sites", by Fay-Cooper Cole; "The Importance of Systematic and Accurate Methods in Archaeological Investigation", by F. W. Hodge; "The Value to the State of Archaeological Surveys", by A. C. Parker; "Archaeology as a Human Interest", by Clark Wissler; "Excavation of the Nicholls Mound of Wisconsin", by

W. C. McKern; "The Williams and Glover Sites in Christian County, Kentucky", by William S. Webb; "Some Recent Notable Finds of Urn Burials in Alabama", by P. A. Brannon; "Trailing DeSoto", by John R. Fordyce; "Mound Areas in the Mississippi Valley and the South", by W. K. Moorehead; "A Form for Recording Data of Field Surveys", by S. A. Barrett; and "A Form for Collection Inventories", by E. F. Greenman.

The Wisconsin Magazine of History for June contains the following articles: *Francis A. Hoffmann of Illinois and Hans Buschbauer of Wisconsin*, by J. H. A. Lacher; *Memoirs of "Riverside Farm"*, by Minna Frances Hoffman Nehrling; *Early Irish Settlers in Milwaukee*, by Humphrey J. Desmond; *The History of the Early Milwaukee German Theatre (1850-1868)*, by Francis Magyar; *Water from John Muir's Well*, by Victor Kutchin; *The High Art of Paddle Making*, by Stephen Radford. Under *Documents* there appears a letter from John and Margred Owen, written from Baraboo, Wisconsin, in 1847. The issue for September contains *Memoirs of Mary D. Bradford*; *How the Kindergarten Found Its Way to America*, by Elizabeth Jenkins; *Memoirs of the Mexican War*, by Charles S. Hamilton; and *Observations on the Menominee Indians*, by Willard H. Titus.

The papers read at the conference on the Trans-Mississippi West held at the University of Colorado, at Boulder on June 18-21, 1929, have been printed in book form under the title *The Trans-Mississippi West*, edited by James F. Willard and Colin B. Goodykoontz. The volume contains the following papers: *Defensive Spanish Expansion and the Significance of the Borderlands*, by Herbert E. Bolton; *Nicolas Point, Jesuit Missionary in Montana of the Forties*, by Gilbert J. Garraghan; *Protestant Home Missions and Education in the Trans-Mississippi West 1835-1860*, by Colin B. Goodykoontz; *Undeveloped Factors in the Life of Marcus Whitman*, by Archer B. Hulbert; *Hand Cart Migrations Across the Plains*, by LeRoy R. Hafen; *By Sea to California*, by John Carl Parish; *Trails of the Trans-Mississippi Cattle Frontier*, by Louis Pelzer; *The Conquest of the Pioneer*, by Percy H. Boynton; *The Plains Indian in Literature — and in Life*, by Walter S. Campbell;

The American Picaresque: A By-product of the Frontier, by Lucy L. Hazard; *On the Historiography of American Territorial Expansion*, by Eugene C. Barker; *The Problem of Adequate Historical Collections*, by Solon J. Buck; *Finance and the Frontier*, by Frederic L. Paxson; *Historical Geography and the Western Frontier*, by Carl Sauer; *A Rural Life Survey of a Western State*, by Joseph Schafer; and *The Great Plains and the Industrial Revolution*, by Walter Prescott Webb.

IOWANA

My Early Days in Iowa, by Abbie Mott Benedict; and the concluding installment of *August P. Richter*, by F. I. Herriott, are the articles which appear in the July issue of the *Annals of Iowa*.

A second installment of *The Practice of Medicine in Iowa in Early Days and After 1870*, by D. S. Fairchild, is included in the August issue of *The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society*.

Three Possible Plans for Dubuque's 1933 Centennial, by H. G. Langworthy; and *An Epoch in Transportation*, by Lachlan Macleay, are two articles of historical interest in *Dubuque Business* for August-September.

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Aldrich, Bess Streeter,

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Aumann, Francis R.,

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Beddie, James Stuart,

The Ancient Classics in the Mediaeval Libraries (Speculum: Journal of Mediaeval Studies, January, 1930).

Beer, Thomas,

Agreeable Finish (The Saturday Evening Post, June 21, 1930).

He Had Another Apple (The Saturday Evening Post, July 19, 1930).

Intrusion (The Saturday Evening Post, May 10, 1930).

No Horses, No Beggars (The Saturday Evening Post, June 7, 1930).

Rose Plaster (The Saturday Evening Post, June 14, 1930).

Berne, Esther Van Cleave,

An Experimental Investigation of Social Behavior Patterns in Young Children (University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, Vol. IV, No. 3). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1930.

Branch, E. Douglas,

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Buchanan, E. D. (Joint author),

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Buchanan, Fannie R.,

It's Great Fun for Children to Play to Music (Better Homes and Gardens, October, 1930).

Buchanan, R. E. (Joint author),

Bacteriology. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1930.

Burrows, Charles N.,

Criminal Statistics in Iowa (University of Iowa Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. IX, No. 2). Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1930.

Butler, Ellis Parker,

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Carver, George (Joint author),

The Stream of English Literature. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company. 1930.

Catt, Mrs. Carrie Chapman,

Changing the Mind of a Nation (World Tomorrow, September, 1930).

Christensen, Thomas P.,

Susan B. Anthony in Iowa (The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, July, 1930).

Crawford, Nelson Antrim (Joint author),

The Healthy-minded Child. New York: Coward-McCann. 1930.

Crowell, Grace Noll,

Roofs (poem) (Good Housekeeping, August, 1930).

Cummings, B. F.,

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Daniel, Hawthorne,

Peggy of Old Annapolis. New York: Coward-McCann. 1930.
The Shadow of the Sword. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1930.

Donovan, Josephine,

Black Soil. Boston: The Stratford Company. 1930.

Erwin, A. T.,

Immigrants from Russia (The Palimpsest, July, 1930).

Fairchild, D. S.,

The Practice of Medicine in Iowa in Early Days and After 1870 (The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society, August, 1930).

Finger, Charles J.,

David Livingstone. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran. 1930.

Tales from Silver Lands. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran. 1930.

Gabrielson, Ira N.,

You, Too, Can Grow These Lilies (Better Homes and Gardens, October, 1930).

Gallaher, Ruth A.,

The Iowa Band (The Palimpsest, August, 1930).

Garland, Hamlin,

Roadside Meetings. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1930.

Roadside Meetings of a Literary Nomad (The Bookman, October, 1929—July, 1930).

Garlock, Fred L.,

Long Term Loans of Iowa Banks (Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bulletin No. 129). Ames: Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1930.

Gates, Robert,

A Country Man (poem) (The Des Moines Register, August 17, 1930).

Giese, Henry,

Application of Engineering to the Agricultural Industry (Science, May 9, 1930).

Haines, Ella Wister,

Mad Honeymoon. New York: A. L. Burt Company. 1930.

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Questions and Problems in Economics. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1930.

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Courts of Foreign Countries (Bulletin of State Institutions, January, 1930).

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- Loy family lived eighty years in Page County, in the *Clarinda Herald*, August 21, 1930.
- Reminiscences of the Civil War, by J. M. Jennings, in the *Arlington News*, August 21, 1930.
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Mrs. Frank Liers relates history of the Communia Colony, in the *Clayton County (Elkader) Register*, August 21, 1930.

W. C. Whiting, first white child born in Westfork Township, in the *Whiting Argus*, August 21, 1930, and the *Onawa Democrat*, August 28, 1930.

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History of Farley, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, August 24, 1930.

Lutheran church organized in Linn County seventy-five years ago, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, August 24, 1930.

Sketch of the life of B. F. Cummins, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, August 25, 1930.

Langworthy tells history of Dubuque, in the *Catholic Daily Tribune*, August 26, 1930.

Sketch of the life of Henry Vollmer, in the *Davenport Democrat*, August 26, 1930.

Wyoming school history, in the *Clinton Herald*, August 26, 1930.

Iowa City traded capital for State University, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, August 26, 1930.

The Estherville meteor, in the *Estherville Vindicator and Republican*, August 27, 1930.

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Sketch of the life of W. F. Schirmer, in the *Clinton Herald*, August 27, 1930.

Dumont's first newspaper printed in German, in the *Aplington News*, August 27, 1930.

Early days in Crawford County, in the *Denison Review*, August 27, 1930.

Sketch of the lives of Mr. and Mrs. James H. Pell, in the *Rockwell City Advocate*, August 28, 1930.

The W. P. Glynden murder of 1877, in the *Eldora Herald*, August 28, 1930.

DeWitt Clinton a Methodist minister for fifty years, in the *Bremer County (Waverly) Independent*, August 28, 1930.

W. H. Thompson leaves farm near Polk City after seventy-five years, in the *Madrid Register-News*, August 28, 1930.

Will S. Beels published *Hopkinton Leader* for thirty years, by M. W. Campbell, in the *Hopkinton Leader*, August 28, 1930.

Bellevue and Cascade almost one hundred years old, in the *Bellevue Leader*, August 29, 1930.

Knoxville eighty-five years old in September, in the *Knoxville Journal*, August 28, 1930.

Daniel Seward Hawn came to Linn County in 1837, in the *Marion Sentinel*, August 28, 1930.

Old settlers association of Linn County was organized in 1891, in the *Marion Sentinel*, August 28, 1930.

Annual reunion of Lincoln family, in the *Glenwood Tribune*, August 28, 1930.

Election fixed site of Garwin in 1879, in the *Traer Clipper*, August 29, 1930.

Early days in Cedar Falls, related by Mrs. Mary Jane Sellen, in the *Waterloo Tribune*, August 31, 1930.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The Historical Bureau of the Indiana Library and Historical Department has recently published the third volume in the series *Constitution Making in Indiana*, compiled and edited by Charles Kettleborough. It covers the years from 1916 to 1930. This publication is Volume XVII in the *Indiana Historical Collections*.

A special meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held at Rock Island, Illinois, on September 14 to 20, 1930, in co-operation with the Sesqui-Centennial Committee, to celebrate the westernmost campaign of the Revolutionary War. The program included sermons on the theme, "Historical Backgrounds", on Sunday, a visit to the Indian village on Monday, a meeting of the Historical Society on Tuesday, a meeting of pioneers and old settlers on Wednesday, a concert by the United States Marine Band on Thursday evening, a pageant by the public school children of Rock Island on Friday, and an historical parade on Saturday.

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The Union County Historical Society sponsored an old settlers gathering at Creston on August 7, 1930. A display of old flags was one feature of the program. W. J. Donlin is president of the Society.

Interested residents of Farragut and the Daughters of the American Revolution of Shenandoah are planning to restore the old Mormon cemetery in the Manti woods near Farragut. This cemetery was started about 1852.

The Norway Memorial Pioneer Association held its third meeting at Norway on August 10, 1930. Dwight Krumbholtz was the chief speaker. Otis Tuttle was elected president, Henry Schloeman vice president, and Jessie Buchanan Tow secretary-treasurer.

A marker for the site of the first log cabin erected by Elijah Buell in Clinton County in 1835 was dedicated on July 4, 1930.

Mrs. Estelle Le Prevost gave the address. The marker was presented by the Clinton chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution and accepted by Mayor Greene of Clinton.

A granite boulder marking the site of the home of Joseph and William Davidson, the first white settlers in Marshall County, was dedicated on August 14, 1930, as one feature of the Le Grand homecoming celebration. A large boulder was also placed on the public square in honor of the early settlers in that locality.

The Clinton County Territorial and State Pioneer Association had its annual reunion at Eagle Point Park on August 28, 1930. Reminiscences were a feature of the program. Charles L. Lambertson was chosen president, J. E. Moran, William Smith, and L. L. Ries, vice presidents, and L. F. Sutton, secretary-treasurer.

On August 16, 1930, a large boulder, placed in the school yard at Montrose, was dedicated to the memory of the orchard planted by Louis Honoré Tesson about 1796. The site of the orchard itself is now covered by the water of the Mississippi River backed up by the Keokuk dam. The marker was presented to the State by John P. Kennedy and accepted by Edgar R. Harlan.

The seventy-fourth annual meeting of the Pioneer Settlers Association of Scott County was held at Davenport on August 27, 1930. Congressman F. D. Letts gave the chief address and Mrs. Ruth I. Preston spoke on "Iowa and Some Glimpses of Its Pioneer Work". The new officers chosen are as follows: P. A. Donaldson, president; Miles Collins, vice president; Mrs. Emma Clark Harrison, treasurer; and Mrs. Julia Karwath, secretary.

Winnebago County celebrated its diamond jubilee on August 17, 18, and 19, 1930. On Sunday afternoon Archer B. Hulbert of Colorado Springs gave an address at Forest City, honoring American pioneers. On Monday morning the ceremony of renaming Lime Creek was held. The old name Winnebago was restored. Chief Eagleneck of the Winnebago Indians gave the name to the stream, and L. H. Pammel and W. F. Muse gave addresses. The store windows were used to display antiques and relics. On Tuesday Winnebago Indians held a pow wow at the fair grounds. A

parade depicting events in the vicinity was another feature of the celebration.

The General Assembly of Iowa in 1927 adopted a concurrent resolution concerning the observance of the centennial anniversary of the Black Hawk Purchase made in September, 1832. Under this treaty about 7500 square miles of Indian land became the property of the United States at a cost of about fourteen cents an acre. This land was later included in the Territory and the State of Iowa. Provision is made in the resolution for a commission to arrange for the observance of the centennial. This consists of the Curator of the Historical Department; the Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa; the county superintendents of the counties of Dubuque, Des Moines, Cedar, Clinton, Delaware, Henry, Jackson, Jones, Muscatine, Scott, Van Buren, Allamakee, Buchanan, Clayton, Davis, Fayette, Jefferson, Johnson, Lee, Linn, Louisa, and Washington; the city superintendents in the cities within the Black Hawk Purchase with a population of three thousand or over, and any other interested citizens the Governor of the State may appoint. Early in September, 1930, forty-six persons had been named by Governor John Hammill as members of the Black Hawk Commission. They serve without pay and no provision is made for expenses.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Dr. William J. Petersen has joined the staff of the State Historical Society of Iowa as Research Associate. Miss Ethyl E. Martin has been appointed Assistant Superintendent and Dr. Ruth A. Gallaher Associate Editor.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has ready for the press a unique volume of Iowa history, *From Ioway to Iowa*, by Irving B. Richman. This volume presents in literary form the story of the discovery, settlement, and development of Iowa, with the great westward movement always in mind.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mr. W. H. Aschom, Lansing, Iowa; Dr. T. I. Beckwith, Corning, Iowa; Miss Fern Elefson, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr.

Arthur Fry, Van Horn, Iowa; Mr. J. H. Herman, Boone, Iowa; Mr. H. Marvin Hromek, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. W. Mighell, Holstein, Iowa; Mr. R. G. Miller, Lansing, Iowa; Mr. John LeRoy Peterson, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mr. Edw. A. Ruppelt, Grundy Center, Iowa; Mrs. F. W. Sells, Osceola, Iowa; Mrs. W. G. Tallman, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Harvey Walker, Columbus, Ohio; Miss Bessie Castle, Marion, Iowa; Mr. Harry L. Eells, Cedar Falls, Iowa; Mr. Homer W. Gardner, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. T. D. Kas, Sutherland, Iowa; Mrs. R. J. Lewis, Fort Madison, Iowa; Rev. James N. Lund, Neola, Iowa; Miss Ethel McCreedy, Washington, Iowa; Mr. Amos M. Mathews, Sioux City, Iowa; Mrs. A. L. Middleton, Eagle Grove, Iowa; Dr. Emma Jewel Neal, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Miss Esther Rasmussen, Ruthven, Iowa; Mrs. Mildred J. Robertson, Keokuk, Iowa; Dr. E. E. Speaker, Lake View, Iowa; Mrs. R. F. Ashbaugh, Sigourney, Iowa; Miss Carmen Ethel Bailey, Des Moines, Iowa; Miss Jennie Beals, Earlham, Iowa; Mr. John J. C. Bower, Jefferson, Iowa; Mr. Leon E. Frey, Oak Park, Illinois; Mr. Melvin Gingerich, Washington, Iowa; and Dr. Jesse Johnson, Mount Ayr, Iowa. The following have been enrolled as life members of the Society: Mr. Hugh H. Shepard, Mason City, Iowa; Mrs. G. E. Anderson, Red Oak, Iowa; Mr. John E. Briggs, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Royal H. Holbrook, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Edw. F. Misak, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. George E. Roberts, New York City; Mrs. Rose F. Rosenfield, Des Moines, Iowa; and Mr. Leigh H. Wallace, Iowa City, Iowa.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The annual homecoming of the old settlers of Madison and Warren counties was held at St. Charles on August 14, 1930.

The Sugar Creek Presbyterian Church of Cedar County celebrated its diamond jubilee anniversary on August 24, 1930. A pageant, "The High Road to Happiness", was a part of the celebration.

The old settlers of Black Hawk County held their annual reunion at Hanna's grove on August 30, 1930. Walter P. Hanna gave the principal address. Roger Leavitt was elected president of the organization, W. T. Evans vice president, and W. A. Smith secretary and treasurer.

The annual picnic of the Little Sioux and Maple Valley Old Settlers Association was held at Mapleton on July 29, 1930. Congressman Ed. H. Campbell gave the principal address. There were also some talks by the pioneers, two of whom had lived in the valley for seventy-five years.

The "50 Year Club" of Boone County held a meeting in McHose Park at Boone on August 14, 1930. Old-time songs and reminiscences were features of the program. This society has been organized about two years and holds meetings twice a year. Any person who has been a resident of the county for fifty years is eligible to membership.

The Pammel State Park, in Madison County, formerly the Devil's Backbone Park, was dedicated on June 30, 1930. Addresses were given by J. N. Darling, president of the Iowa Conservation Association, Dr. D. W. Morehouse, President of Drake University, and Dr. Louis H. Pammel. The presentation was made by W. E. G. Saunders and the park was accepted by Hon. Ed. M. Smith, Secretary of State.

The old settlers of Crawford County held their annual picnic on

August 14, 1930. A Half Century Club was organized by those who had lived in the county fifty years or more. Fred C. Gilchrist delivered the chief address. N. L. Hunt was chosen president of the old settlers' association, Wm. Byrnes, secretary, and F. L. Hoffman treasurer. Mr. Hunt was also made president of the new Half Century Club, and C. K. Meyers was made secretary.

The Iowa Library Association will join the States of Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Wisconsin, and Minnesota in a regional library convention to be held at St. Paul, Minnesota, on October 14-17, 1930. Among the Iowans on the tentative program are Forrest B. Spaulding of the Des Moines Public Library, Mary B. Humphrey of the State University Library at Iowa City, and J. S. Johnson, President of the Iowa Library Association.

The forty-fifth annual reunion of the old settlers of Mills, Pottawattamie, and Fremont counties was held at Council Bluffs on August 11, 1930. W. E. Mitchell of Council Bluffs gave the principal address. Otha D. Wearin, A. L. Chantry, and George Hughes also gave short talks. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: A. L. Chantry, president; A. C. Sivers, vice president for Pottawattamie County, W. P. Wortman, vice president for Mills County, William Arnd, treasurer; Carl Adams, secretary; and Frank G. Weeks, historian.

CONTRIBUTORS

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN, Research Associate in the State Historical Society. (See *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, January, 1930, p. 173.)

MAX HENDRICKS GUYER. (See *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, July, 1930, p. 502.)

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